

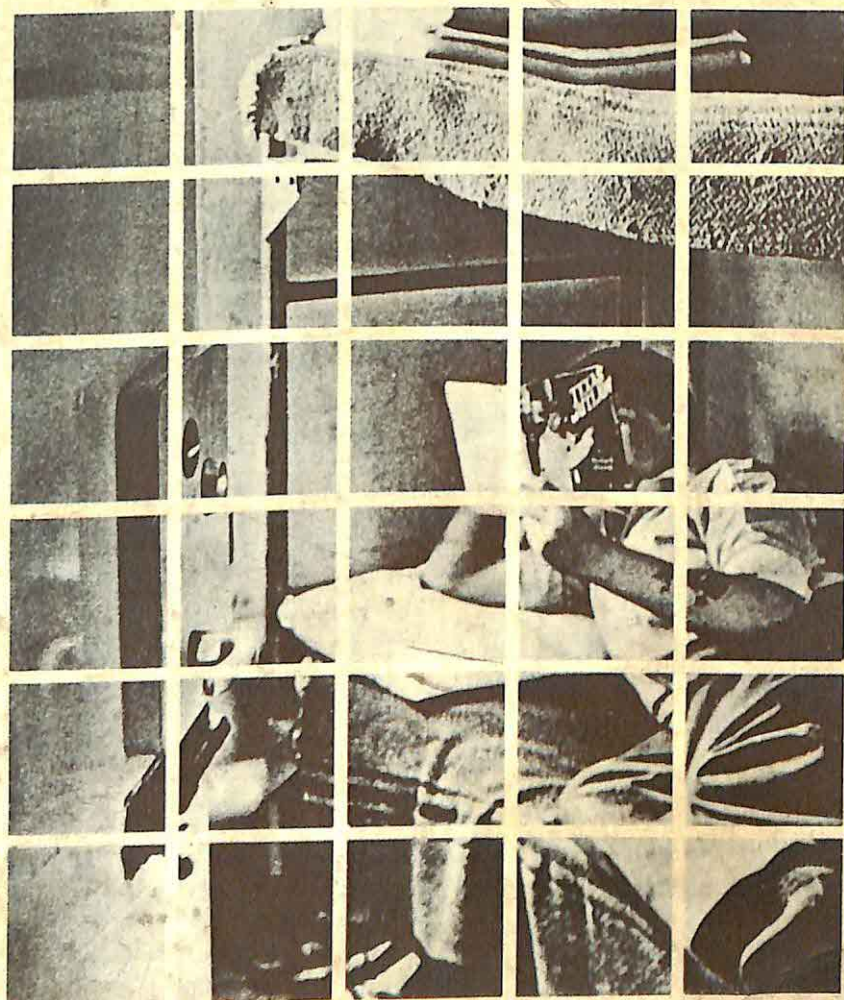
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The social treatment of young offenders

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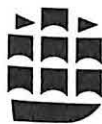
Juvenile delinquency, the family and the social group

Edited by John Barron Mays

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The social treatment of young offenders

A READER



Longman

LONDON and NEW YORK



LONGMAN GROUP LIMITED
Burnt Mill
Harlow
Essex CM20 2JE

Distributed in the United States of America by Longman Inc., New York

Associated companies, branches and representatives throughout the world

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First published 1975

ISBN 0 582 48085 X cased

ISBN 0 582 48086 8 paper

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 73-93116

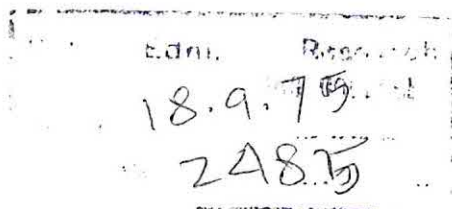
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Printed in Great Britain by
J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd, Bristol

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Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the following for permission to reproduce copyright material:

Guardian Newspapers Ltd for the article 'Straights and Bents Together' by John Pepper from *The Guardian* 28 August 1971; The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office for 'Corporal Punishment' from *Home Office Report of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders*, HMSO, Cmnd. 1213, 1960, 'Probation and the Social Environment' by Martin Davies from *Home Office Research Unit Report*, HMSO, 1969 and 'Intermediate Treatment' from *Department of Health and Social Security Pamphlet*, HMSO, 1972; Howard League for Penal Reform for 'Informal Youth Work in a Cafe Setting' by B. Biven and H. M. Holden from *Howard Journal*, 1966, and 'School Social Work and Crime Prevention' by Pauline Avery and Robert Adamson from *Howard Journal*, 1969; Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency for an extract from 'Manchester Senior Attendance Centre' by Nancy Goodman from *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1965, an extract from 'The Origins of the Philosophy of Detention Centres' by Valerie Choppen from *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1970, an extract from 'Enforcement in Probation Casework' by A. W. Hunt from *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1965, an extract from 'An Approved School in Transition' by Owen Gill from *British Journal of Criminology*, 1974, an extract from 'Group Work in the Probation Setting' by D. Bissell from *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1962, an extract from 'An Adventure Experiment with Boys on Probation' by M. J. Day from *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 4, No. 5, 1964, an extract from 'Early Identification of Delinquents' by Gordon Rose from *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1967, an extract from 'The Shotton Hall Experiment' by Leonard Bloom from *British Journal of Delinquency*, No. 2, 1959, and an extract

from 'The Delinquent, His Family and the Social Group' by J. B. Mays from *British Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1959; the author for an extract from 'The Approved School: A Theoretical Model' by Howard Jones from *Sociological Review*, Monograph 9, 1965; Longman Group Ltd for 'The School, the Teacher and the Young Delinquent' by J. B. Mays from *The School in its Social Setting*; the author for 'Police Juvenile Liaison — Practice and Evaluation' by J. A. Mack, 1969; New Society for the article 'Penal Centres' by Joy Melville, from *New Society*, 26 October 1972; the author and New Society for the article 'The Long Blunt Shock' by Neale Pharaoh from *New Society*, 26 September 1963; the author and New Society for the article 'I Give Them Money' by Geoffrey Parkinson from *New Society*, 5 February 1970; the author and New Society for the article 'Rootless in the City: The Young Who Need Help' by Noel Timms from *New Society*, 2 January 1969; The Observer Foreign News Service for an article 'Birching — An account of a judicial birching in the Channel Islands' by Peter Dunn from *The Observer*, 2 August 1964; Penguin Books Ltd for 'Changing a School' from *Children in Distress* edited by Alec Clegg and Barbara Megson, copyright © Alec Clegg and Barbara Megson, 1968, and Prison Officers' Association and the author for 'Group Work at Pollington' by R. L. Taylor from *Group Work in Prison and Borstals*, 1966.



Introduction

The social treatment of young offenders

John Barron Mays

FROM PUNISHMENT TO REFORMATION

It is only comparatively recently — during the last 150 years in fact — that society has made a serious attempt to treat juvenile offenders differently from adult criminals. For a very long time all offences were regarded as moral outrages, a species of social sinfulness as it were, and the best way of dealing with offenders and sinners was to punish them. Transportation, long periods of imprisonment, and even the death penalty, were not considered too severe for children to suffer at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But gradually the growing humanitarianism of the period which manifested itself in various directions, as, for example, in the legislation controlling the employment of children in industrial work, also exerted its benign influence on the treatment of young offenders. Imprisonment alongside older criminals was seen to be counterproductive and calculated to corrupt young delinquents even further.

In the 1830s Parkhurst was opened as a special prison for children between the ages of ten and eighteen whose offences were deemed to merit a severe sentence, and although the institution only survived for some fifty years the principle of segregation was exemplified. By modern standards conditions and regime at Parkhurst were tough and repressive. Leg irons were used during the first few years and so-called refractory cases were frequently placed in solitary confinement, put on bread and water diet, given penal drill and flogged. Guards with rifles and fixed bayonets supervised working parties. Meanwhile, however, the reformatory movement was slowly but surely making headway under the impetus of voluntary organisations and of philanthropic individuals.

The name of Mary Carpenter is indelibly scored on the history of the reformatory and approved school movement. Carlebach describes her as ‘a

brilliant, volatile, passionate and arrogant woman whose life, work and prejudices were to dominate the history of the management of juvenile delinquency' in this country. Her opposition to Parkhurst and to the whole concept of prisons for children was eventually successful. By the middle of the century Parliament passed the necessary legislation to allow courts to send homeless and destitute children up to the age of fourteen to the industrial and reformatory schools that were springing up under voluntary management (Mary Carpenter's own school, Red Lodge, was the first girls' reformatory to be certified in England), while delinquents under the age of sixteen could be similarly treated after a short punitive period in prison. From 1854 onwards it may be said that the state accepted its responsibility to attempt to reform young offenders and to do so by providing, or at least supporting, special institutions which would embody the principles of training rather than punishment. By 1858 there were already over fifty such voluntary schools in existence. Although in comparison with contemporary community homes these schools were harsh in their methods, we have to remember that all schools at that time were strictly disciplined, and it is salutary to recall that the success rates of the reformatories, judged by no further reconvictions for a three year follow-up period, were outstandingly high. Something like 75 per cent was the norm for successes during the rest of the nineteenth century. Carlebach explains these outstanding results in terms of the lack of opportunities available in the outside world at that time, as compared with the meagre educational facilities given to the reformatory child: 'the schools offered them, usually for the first time, some access to institutional means of achieving cultural goals'. This suggests that declining success rates in later years may have resulted more from the improved conditions of society in general, and the greater educational facilities available for lower-class children following the provision of universal education from the 1870s onwards, than from any growing spirit of lawlessness amongst the young. This argument seems to have much to support it, but Carlebach himself draws our attention to the fact that it was during the period immediately after the First World War that the certified schools, as they had come to be called, notched up their most striking success rates of between 85 and 90 per cent.

For all their apparent success, however, as a means of rehabilitating young delinquents the schools at that time were under constant criticism and there was a strong impression in the minds of their staff that they might be closed down. It is a very odd and disturbing fact that as the approved schools over the course of time have become more remedial in outlook and standards of care and training of personnel have improved, the success rates have fallen. By the mid-1960s the latter were estimated at

only 38 per cent. No general social or criminological theory has yet been advanced to account satisfactorily for these apparently anomalous results. Perhaps the most likely reason is that which Carlebach suggests: that the very process of separating out delinquent from 'normal' children and of bringing them up in segregated institutions, helps to perpetuate a child's deviant self-concept and so undermine much of the ostensible aims of the training schools. Since the passing of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act approved schools have been redesignated community homes. Owen Gill's paper in this volume traces one school's reactions and development along these lines and suggests reasons why the changeover may not necessarily prove as revolutionary as its promoters hope.

One of the main obstacles in the way of all penal reform is the stubborn traditional attitude which people in general have towards offenders and their need for punishment. The notion of retribution and of paying up in some unpleasant way for one's offences is very deepseated in the human consciousness and embedded in legal processes and in the notions of justice. Changes of name do not automatically change what goes on inside institutions; even internal structural changes are likely to be only partly effective if the children who are committed to community homes think of themselves as being punished, and if society itself has a similar conception. It is clear that the ambivalence of society in general to the whole business of offences and the treatment of offenders must be reflected in all penal, remedial, or re-educational institutions. It is also clear that, as long as force of any kind is used to commit children to treatment programmes, such programmes and processes *will* be regarded by the children as to some degree punitive. All children are obliged to go to school until they reach a certain age but not all are obliged to go to a boarding school, nor is the decision to send them to such boarding schools made by obviously powerful individuals outside the family circle. Children cannot be so easily bluffed as some reformers would like to believe, and often they have a way of seeing through social work jargon and academic theorising with embarrassing clarity and realism.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF YOUNG OFFENDERS

The 1908 Children Act could perhaps be regarded as the single most impressive advance on the road to the differential treatment of juveniles and adults. This Act fully legalised juvenile courts for all children under the age of sixteen. The juvenile court was virtually a complete innovation, since it was charged with responsibility for dealing with young delinquents, as well as treating those in need of care or protection against moral danger or parental neglect. Furthermore, even in coping with delinquents, once

the charge had been proved or admitted, the magistrates were obliged by their terms of reference to have regard for the future welfare of the child as well as the protection of society. This dual welfare and penal function seems to have worked out well enough in practice and the juvenile courts gradually obtained the confidence of the public as people's increased willingness to refer cases to them evidenced. It is only in recent years, as a result of a new philosophy of treatment, that the work of the courts has been curtailed following the implementation of the 1969 Act. Moreover, the present reluctance to take young children to court is due much more to a general desire to remove the stigma of criminality from a child's record than to any very serious dissatisfaction with the way the courts have dealt with their cases during their sixty odd years' existence. A number of criminologists, however, view the limitation of the juvenile courts' responsibility as a retrograde step, removing, as it does, the under-fourteens from their ministrations in cases where the police and the social workers are of the opinion that they come from fairly satisfactory home backgrounds. The present position is altogether somewhat confused and contradictory and there are various controversial features which may be reconsidered in future amending legislation. But one vital principle will probably be maintained which is our conviction that the young delinquent is invariably more sinned against by family and society than sinning, and, hence, in need of care and help rather than imposed control. There is more than a strain of idealism underlying the new child care legislation, and only time and careful research will show whether this idealism is misplaced or not and suggest what further modifications to the existing methods of treatment are required.

The probation service, officially established in 1907, has from its early days been closely concerned with the supervision of children and young people as well as adults. It is only in the last year or so that its long association with juvenile offenders has been broken and its responsibilities transferred to the local authority social work departments following on the general reorganisation of social work along the lines recommended by the Seeböhm Committee report. In spite of the changed role of probation, however, we have included in this volume a number of extracts describing the work of the probation officer, partly to acknowledge the immense contribution that the service has in the past made in this field, and also because the local authority workers will need to operate along very similar lines. Probation officers will in the future cease to handle the under-seventeens as the terms of the new Act become more widely and completely implemented, but the principles that the probation service has pioneered and developed in their association with juvenile delinquents must not be forgotten.

TRADITIONAL AND EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENTS

Probation officers have been associated with various informal and relaxed schemes in an attempt to get to know their charges better and to establish positive friendly relationships with them. The discussion groups and camps which are illustrated by appropriate papers in this volume epitomise this concern for the whole child, and the realisation that sound social discipline is built as surely upon personal respect as upon the exercise of mere authority. Probation officers have always indeed been innovators and opportunists, ready to collaborate with any sound and positively oriented social work project in their areas which could offer any kind of help to their charges. So we find them sending children to the Dolphin Club* and similar youth service type ventures. They welcomed the inauguration of the police Juvenile Liaison Officer scheme and have always sought the help of clergy, schoolteachers and youth leaders in an attempt to anchor their probationers' interest in normal and socially healthy activities. Such experience makes the probation service admirably suited for looking after the new Community Service Orders which the Criminal Justice Act 1972 established on an experimental basis following recommendations by the Wootton Committee on *Non-Custodial and Semi-Custodial Penalties* (1970). Under the provisions of this scheme the offender, who must be over seventeen years of age, is obliged to spend a portion of his free time performing some kind of useful work for the community, thereby making some measure of reparation for the wrong he has done. More importantly, however, the Community Service Order scheme can be used in a positive way to widen an offender's mental outlook and help him to form constructive relationships both with the probation service and with ordinary members of the public. It is hoped that offenders can become associated with established projects run by voluntary organisations, and so enjoy the advantage of being able to work alongside volunteers. Examples of such approved work might include the construction of children's playgrounds, clearance of canals, help for the elderly with gardening and decorating, reclamation of derelict sites, and assistance in geriatric wards or other hospitals and homes. Certain areas will offer specific opportunities, and no narrow limits are being set on the kinds of useful work which could be adopted by the scheme.

Most of the Community Service Order will be served at weekends so as not to interrupt the offender's normal working life, and a maximum of 240 hours may be performed. There is also the hope that some offenders will become so absorbed by the nature of the community service they have been directed to perform that they may choose to carry on after their

* See pp. 204-13.

statutory period has ended. It is, of course, vitally important that the offender should see the Community Service Order as a desirable opportunity to regain his status and not just as a penal burden imposed by the outraged public.

At the time of writing, five areas have been selected to be responsible for pilot schemes for a two-year experimental period. Designated areas are Inner London, Kent, Nottingham, County Durham and South-West Lancashire.

Community Service Orders, like the new forms of so-called intermediate treatment, which are exemplified and discussed at the end of this Reader, all stem from the same desire to make the treatment of offenders, the young ones in particular, more humane and constructive, less punitive in spirit and less irksome in content. When birching was finally abandoned by the 1948 Act, certain alternative means of dealing with the tougher and seemingly recalcitrant youths were simultaneously provided. Of these, the establishment of detention centres has proved to be the most controversial. Their tough and rigorous regime was thought to provide an appropriate alternative to a prison sentence for youths convicted of breaking offences and physical violence. The usual period served was three months, with a maximum of six months being permitted. Failure rates run fairly low at between 30 and 40 per cent, nevertheless, the authorities have decided in the 1969 Act that they should be phased out as far as the under-seventeens go and replaced by other more constructive kinds of treatment.

Attendance Centres, which were set up by the same Act, had a similar but much milder punitive purpose. Joy Melville's account of a typical weekend programme at a London centre, and Nancy Goodman's analysis of the senior centre in Manchester, indicate the rational nature of such centres for cases which magistrates do not think suitable for fining or more serious measures, but which seem to call for a sharp and fairly severe reprimand. They, too, are to be phased out as a result of the 1969 legislation, but one would not be surprised to see them turning up again, in slightly altered but not fundamentally dissimilar form, in the provisions for intermediate treatment which are still in an entirely experimental and exploratory stage.

BORSTAL IN TRANSITION

Borstal training, which David Lowson describes in Section 13 of this book, was originally set up in 1908, and borstals were in their early days pioneering institutions designed to deal with older boys and girls. Their emphasis has always been on re-education rather than on punishment, although like

detention centres they have been administered by the Prison Department of the Home Office. Borstal sentences could not be inflicted by juvenile courts, but recommendations were made by the latter to the higher courts. Borstal training has had its ups and downs over the years, its success rates have fallen and, in spite of a much improved system of aftercare which was set up during the middle of the 1950s, the risk of failure seems to be particularly high for those ex-inmates who are homeless. The problem presented by the homeless inadequates and dropouts must undoubtedly be met by the provision of special hostels that should be made available immediately upon discharge. Such hostels require careful administration and the help of very skilled staff. At the present moment voluntary efforts are being made to meet this need as John Pepper's article illustrates. One of the most interesting of such ventures is the Northways Hostel in the London area which, under the leadership of Dr Derek Miller, has been specialising in the aftercare and postrelease treatment of borstal boys. Dr Miller's detailed account of the Northways project will be found in his book, *Growth to Freedom*.

Professor Timms' paper shows that it is not only the ex-institutionalised offenders who need this kind of help, and that our large cities collect a number of teenage misfits who by their very vulnerability must be regarded as high delinquency risks.

But the criticism of borstal in recent years has grown and forms part of a widespread disenchantment with most of our established methods of dealing with young offenders. As David Lowson argues, borstals, like approved schools, are influenced by changes in society in general, and as opportunities multiply and the standard of living for most sections of the population, except the very old and the long-term poor, steadily rise, the possibility of giving young offenders better conditions inside institutions than they have experienced in their normal lives greatly diminishes. Indeed, a report of the Advisory Council on Penal Reform is suggesting to the Home Secretary that borstals, together with detention centres and young prisoners' centres as we now know them, should go out of existence and their places be taken by a new type of institution (as yet unnamed). The idea of establishing a parole system for young offenders is also being mooted.

Such changes, which may or may not turn out to be improvements, are characteristic of many spheres of contemporary society. The educational system is similarly under constant pressure to change and be restructured, more or less as the ever restless climate of 'expert' opinion seems to dictate, and the whole field of social work is now notoriously exposed to trends and novelties. We must expect that ideas and methods for the treatment of young offenders will be similarly influenced, that established

institutions will be drastically modified or done away with, and that there will be a great change-round of labels and repainting of notice boards. Many of these changes appear to be more emotionally than rationally motivated, few seem to be tried out before they are generally adopted, and research lags far behind the rate of change and the restlessness of modern administrators and politicians eager to be seen to be in the van of 'progress'. Although the penological sphere is less obviously exposed to political pressures than the educational system or the health service are, it is nevertheless subject to many subtle politically based influences. No government nowadays, whether of the Left or the Right, can afford to be seen to drag its feet on social policies.

YOUNG PRISONERS

In all the changes and debates about the treatment of the younger offenders, however, one group, the young prisoners, have had less than their proper share of the limelight. For many years it has been agreed that ideally offenders under the age of twenty-one should not be sent to prison. In 1969, however, the Home Office estimated that at any one time there were about 1 000 of them serving ordinary prison sentences, most of them being between nineteen and twenty years of age and with experience of borstal and detention centres behind them and, in some cases, both. Young prisoners sentenced to only six months or less, according to the official report, *People in Prison (England and Wales)*, which the Home Secretary presented to Parliament in November 1969, tended to remain in local prisons but occasionally were segregated in self-contained units. Moreover, it was reported that those young prisoners who were serving sentences longer than six months were being sent to four special centres, two being self-contained establishments at Aylesbury and Northallerton and the others in separate wings at Liverpool and Stafford. More recently the Aylesbury detention centre was closed and the premises used for a further 100 young prisoners. So far no published account of the training of young prisoners is available, but there is reason to believe that significant work is being quietly accomplished in this field, and should a second edition of this Reader be called for it may prove possible to include a section on this very important group of younger offenders.

NEW POLICIES IN CHILD CARE

The story, then, of society's methods of treating its young dissidents and delinquents is one of increasing differentiation, growing flexibility and deepening humanitarianism. This progression is mirrored in the various sections of the book which follow a similar trend, illustrating the same

transition from the concept of sheer punishment to that of carefully thought out and, where it is practicable, non-residential treatment. The swing today is in the direction of what is popularly called 'community care', and emphasis is laid on keeping a delinquent child for as long as possible within his own home and neighbourhood in the hope that he may thereby be enabled to grow through and grow out of his delinquent phase. For this reason we can see how the schools as well as the youth service are now being caught up in the one broad community based movement to establish a more supportive and at the same time a more challenging and enriching social environment for all children. Prevention is deemed superior to expensive cure and if much delinquency is generated in unsatisfactory neighbourhoods, lacking the ingredients of sound personal and social health, then the proper way to deal with the problem is to try to improve the overall quality of family, social and educational life.

Scotland has not been slow to pioneer and develop its own thinking along similar lines to those being developed in England and Wales. The Kilbrandon Committee, which reported as long ago as 1964, recommended that all juveniles below the age of sixteen, deemed to be in need of care, should be dealt with by a specially constituted but non-judicial panel and, provided parental agreement be obtained, the same procedure would be followed for actual delinquents. The Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 translated these recommendations into law and the new methods of dealing with delinquents thus came into existence well before the new system in England and Wales. The reasoning behind this approach is that both types of child share a fundamental and common need, despite the different presenting symptoms; they need to be compensated for those elements in their training and upbringing which have, for various reasons, fallen short of what is required for sound psychological development. As was proposed in England, Scottish juvenile courts have been entirely replaced by juvenile panels up to the age of sixteen, and the treatments proposed by the panels are being carried out by the new local authority social work officers. (Qualifications for the post are not defined with any detail.) A post of special importance in the system is that of 'reporter', who decides in any specific case whether no action is required or whether to refer the matter to the children's panel. 'No action' is sometimes a misnomer as it can include voluntary supervision being undertaken by the social work department, and advice being directly given to parents regarding a child's work or leisure time activities.

One result of the operation of the new system is undoubtedly that comparatively large numbers of juveniles who have committed what are technically crimes not only fail to be handed on to the juvenile court but no direct action at all is undertaken. Not unexpectedly there have been

outcries of protest against the apparent leniency of the new methods, many magistrates have wrung their hands with frustration, and there have been urgent pleas for a return to the juvenile court procedure and an end to what looks to some people like shallow utopianism. More children are cautioned under existing arrangements in both countries, far fewer seem to come into the courts, which, of course, is exactly what the reforms were intended to bring about. Here we see how the influence of academic criminological research and writing, together with the persistent pressure of reform-conscious groups such as the Howard League For Penal Reform and similar specialist factions, has ultimately influenced legislation and brought about a fairly radical change in the methods of treating juvenile offenders. It is, of course, much too early to be able to assess the effectiveness of the new methods, or to judge the viability of the new penological philosophy in action. By the same token, it is much too early also to talk of the new treatments as being likely to prove more successful than those they have replaced.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

It is perhaps possible at this point of time, October 1973, to end this introductory essay on a note of at least mild optimism. Although one may deprecate certain changes in recent years in the treatment of young offenders, especially perhaps the fact that the under-seventeens will no longer be the objects of probation officers' concern, there are indications that some of the changes and some of the new methods being experimented with will produce beneficial results. I am inclined to think that the new Community Service Orders for the older adolescents may well turn out to be both economical in money and manpower terms, and also effective as far as rehabilitation is concerned, providing, of course, that the disposal is used with discretion and discernment and not indiscriminately tried out simply because it is new. Similarly, we can be moderately sanguine about the long-term prospects for intermediate treatments. They seem both rational and imaginative. However, the changing of title and modification of the role of the approved schools are hardly likely to make very much difference to the sum total of penological methods and merely seem to extend the more relaxed trends which had been gathering momentum over the past few decades. I am much more anxious about the future of the borstal institutions. As David Lowson argues in his paper, given the right kind of determined and resilient leadership, borstal training is no more outmoded than the English public boarding schools on which they were partly modelled. Both types of institution have much in common; both are influenced by changes in the world outside; both are capable of adapting

to external pressures by changes of a non-radical nature which underline their essential soundness; both can do a great deal for young people whose homes are inadequate or who adjust best to a group-based rather than to a family-centred lifestyle.

Meanwhile, we may conclude by pointing out that delinquency cannot be regarded as existing *sui generis*. It is a social phenomenon, for the most part explicable in sociological terms. It therefore seems to follow that whatever is done to make our society more healthy, more equal, more interesting and more ethical, will also as a byproduct help to remove some of the criminogenic influences from the general social matrix. We must remember that all children need love just as they need discipline, and as they grow older they need the prospect of achieving some degree of self-respect and of winning for themselves a fair share of the material goods of our industrial civilisation. Everything that promotes such an end helps to reduce the risk of delinquency; everything that thwarts such an end contributes a quantum to the general social unrest out of which delinquency is precipitated.

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PART ONE

The more punitive approach

Penal centres

Joy Melville

In this article Joy Melville gives a graphic account of the working of a London attendance centre, seen from the viewpoint of an informed observer, on a not untypical Saturday afternoon. Although attendance centres in their present form are almost certain to go out of existence when the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act is finally implemented, it seems clear that during their span they have met a genuine need as a way of dealing with fairly minor offenders in a sensibly disciplined manner. The idea of depriving youngsters of some of their weekend leisure time as a suitable punishment for committing certain irritating but not too serious acts such as hooliganism, seems to have a great deal of logic on its side and will no doubt be retained in the new forms of intermediate treatment which are currently being experimented with in particular areas.

Every other Saturday afternoon, a two-storeyed church hall in Greenwich becomes London's only 'senior attendance centre'. Youths aged seventeen to twenty-one stream into it. At the last session, one arrived accompanied by a friend who was not on the attendance order. 'Can I stay with my mate, Sir?' the friend asked the police inspector at the door. 'We won't hurt him,' came the reply. 'You can wait for him outside if you want, but you can't come in.'

The youths who go there are not alone in wondering what goes on inside. A study of senior attendance centres, which was carried out during 1971 by a working party of lay justices, said: 'Ignorance of their purpose — even of their existence — is widespread among magistrates, their clerks, court staff and probation officers: and the centres are too often misunderstood and misused.'

The non-custodial penalty of deprivation of leisure has been available to the courts since the Criminal Justice Act 1948. But the first senior attendance centre was only set up — in Manchester — in 1958. One other, at Greenwich, followed in 1964 and both centres are still allegedly 'experimental', and will remain so while the alternative scheme of community service orders, effective under the Criminal Justice Act 1972, is considered. Magistrates' courts can make an attendance centre order for 'imprisonable' offences, and the length of this order can range from twelve to twenty-four hours. Sessions normally last from 2 pm to 4 pm on Saturday afternoons.

Deprivation of leisure on a series of Saturday afternoons (plus the time and expense of travelling to the centre) is a longer-lasting penalty than a fine for youths of seventeen to twenty-one (the age catered for in senior centres). But it causes the biggest problem that these centres face: that of non-attendance. After three consecutive failures to attend the centre, the youth concerned is taken back to court. Chief Inspector George Claydon, who has run the Greenwich centre since 1968, has returned twenty youths this year out of a total, to date, of 159.

On this particular Saturday afternoon, seventy-five youths had been warned well in advance to attend. Chief Inspector Claydon expected fifty-two or so to arrive: in fact, forty-four did. As Claydon walked into his office, the phone rang with excuses: 'Where are you? Can I get someone round there to verify you're broken down? In future, give yourself a bit more time or get your car done up.' 'What time's this wedding? Left it a bit late to tell me, haven't you?' 'All right, Mr Jones, but tell your son to bring a medical certificate.' Claydon put the phone down with a shake of the head. 'Still,' he said, 'it's a success to have got them to conform to society's rules. If you can't make an appointment, you tell someone, and don't leave it to them to chase you.'

The administrative side of 'chasing', recording attendances and filling in the statistical forms required by the Home Office, was keeping two of his staff busy at a corner desk. At present, all the staff but one are police (in civvies) and the payment is £5.18 a session. The ratio of staff to youths is kept to about one to eight, as some of those attending could be quite violent characters. There's never been any real trouble, however — although the twelve to eighteen hour sentences have been found most effective from the discipline and control viewpoint, as after that 'they get awkward'. Girls do not attend centres ('though some of the lads act like them').

Orders made at Greenwich to 1971 were for theft in about 40 per cent of cases; motoring offences in 20 per cent; violence in less than 10 per cent; malicious damage and drunkenness in less than 6 per cent. Occasion-

ally, it's hooliganism or threatening behaviour. ('These are quite big lads: they'll have had a few pints and hit someone with a bottle or a chair.')

The first two newcomers to the centre, who were presently ushered before CI Claydon, looked more threatened against than threatening. 'I am in charge here,' he said to them, 'and I'll tell you what this place is all about. Each of you has been sent here for something for which the court could have given you a custodial sentence, like borstal or even imprisonment. If you don't comply with the terms of the order, and don't do as you're told while you're here, then I'll take you back to the court, which may revoke the order. Usually, that means three months' detention.

'It isn't your first offence, is it?' Both youths shook their heads. 'On your own when you did this burglary?' he asked one. 'No,' came the reply in a soft southern Irish accent, 'I took me brother along.' 'How many brothers and sisters have you?' 'Fifteen.' 'Well, you're both on a bad wicket. You might like to think of this as your last chance to keep out of trouble.'

Both youths stood silently as he explained the rules: 'I want you to call the staff here, 'Sir'; and no back-answering, chewing gum, fags or smoking parties in the toilet, or you and I will fall out. You must be punctual. You've signed an attendance chit. Don't throw it away in the garden or you will get the job of gardening. Don't hang outside the church entrance, especially if they've got a wedding: they don't want pictures of you. We give you a clean gym kit here, so you must be clean about yourselves. If you're not, someone will bring you to me. If you want to be absent, try me. If your attendance record is okay, then fine. If you go absent, that's different. . . . Any questions?' The youths said 'no', and went off quietly to join the rest. I remarked on this apparent docility. 'Take them out of their environment and put them into a strong one,' said CI Claydon, 'and it takes the wind out of their sails.'

What, quite literally, took the wind out of them was the gym session I watched them do, though most seemed to get a certain breathless enjoyment out of it. The motor vehicle class next door, on road safety, was getting similar concentration. 'Can anyone give me one place where you could stop on a double white line. What if you had your girl friend with you, for instance?'

The concept of attendance centres is not just the punitive one of depriving those sent there of leisure, but to teach them a constructive use for it. As well as PE, there are classes in first-aid, vehicle maintenance and interior cleaning. 'I generally reserve the wall-washing for those who are workshy,' says Claydon, 'but we don't rigidly control them, army fashion, just aim to get them to take part as a natural thing. We try and stop them skylarking; only when they get unreasonable, do I jump on them.'

The jumping has to be done rather carefully. If he rides them too hard, he finds they simply don't turn up again.

Last time's absentees were shown in one by one. 'Why didn't you turn up last time? Ill? Well, in my experience, there is sick with medical certificate, and that I believe; there is sick without medical certificate but someone takes the trouble to phone, and that I half-believe; but when you roll up and say, I was sick last week, that I don't believe. Don't say you don't know where I am. Go into any police station and ask for me. The object of this order is to make you stand on your own feet.'

'On holiday were you? Where?' 'At Margate.' 'Have a good time? What are you doing for work these days?' 'I am a packer and also a bit of a clerical worker.' 'Does it pay enough to keep you out of trouble?' 'Yes.' 'Paid that fine yet?' 'Yes.' 'Not really worth it, was it?' 'No.'

'If you're late like this, you'll be sent home, and your attendance will not count. Been down the boozer? Sure? You could have fooled me. What are you doing for a living? You don't work? Why's that then? Two weeks out of work? What are you doing about finding a job . . . sitting at home, waiting?'

'Are you going to do this sentence or pay the fine?' 'Do the sentence.' 'Are you disqualified from driving? And have you still got a vehicle? Well, when you can drive, it's important you are insured. There's a big difference between a national health wheelchair and a plush one: that's what insurance is all about.'

'I did phone up, or me mum did, but she never got through.' 'You're a big lad, you don't rely on your mum, do you? Well, your probation officer said she thought you were worth another go. Are you going to let her down or not?'

A few of the youths being questioned implied they didn't care if they were taken back to court. It's hard to decide how effective the centre is, as no detailed assessment has ever been made. 'One thing I have found,' said Claydon, 'is that the majority of boys we get come from families of more than three or four children, live in blocks of flats, smoke cigarettes almost incessantly and bite their fingernails down to their elbows. And their job records are just fantastic: they're in and out of them like yoyos.'

The number of boys sent to the centre can fluctuate greatly from year to year, depending on whether magistrates use the centre or not. After the magistrates' report was published in January of this year, giving the centres greater publicity, attendance figures rose from ninety (in 1971) to 159 (to date) this year.

This report recommended that the number of the senior attendance centres should be increased and that greater use should be made of them for those found guilty of vandalism and hooliganism. And after the last

serious outbreak of hooliganism at a football match, at the beginning of the current season, there was a further call for culprits to be sent to attendance centres.

It's usually the fourteen to sixteen age group who are the ones concerned here; and these would go to a junior attendance centre, for boys from ten to seventeen. There are sixty of these in England and Wales. Under the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 they are due to disappear as such, unless they find a place in the new schemes of intermediate treatment.

The junior centres are run on the same 'youth club' basis as the senior ones, though a larger number of classes can include leatherwork, carpentry, map reading and toymaking. One I went to was held on school premises in Plaistow. It has been run since 1960 by William Hemmings — now retired after thirty years of police service. He finds that the young boys have by far the better attendance record. They accept discipline more easily and are less trouble altogether. The boys are split up into those aged ten to fourteen, who come one Saturday; and those of fourteen to seventeen, who come the next.

Parents often accompany their children the first time. They are assured the staff aren't there to bully the children, but show them how stupid it is to get into criminal ways. The parents have an evident trust in the centre. Hemmings often gets letters saying, 'He has been a nuisance at home, will you have a word with him?' And, 'Stays out late, runs off, and refuses to do as he is told.'

'Boys often come in here with a chip on their shoulder,' said Hemmings. 'Their attitude is: "We'll show this authority just what we think of them."' It's surprising how quickly they become amenable. The attitude of people makes a lot of difference to children. They are here in a structured setting, and know they have got to do what they're told, but if one is going to get anywhere with a boy, one has got to chop authority at the earliest opportunity and rely on the personality of the instructors to get anything out of him.'

One boy of fourteen that I talked to admitted he didn't want to leave. 'They talk to me here,' he said. 'I know a couple of the officers now, and they never go past and look as if they don't want to know. They want to help. If I hadn't come here, I'd be going the other way.'

It sounded almost too good to be true, but Hemmings estimates the centre is a salutary lesson to most boys; and for those from good homes, without previous offences, almost 100 per cent effective. If a boy has already made a number of court appearances, it's impressed on him that he's on the road to borstal. 'I don't harp on what they've done,' said Hemmings. 'I concentrate on the future and try and show them by

example.' Manners are obviously included in this. A boy who pushed between us as we talked was given an instant etiquette lesson.

About 250 boys go through the centre a year, with about ninety on the books at any one time. This centre, and one other in the London area, takes boys from the age of ten: the rest start at twelve. With the really young boys, the offence is invariably the supermarket-type theft. To get a boy at the centre for robbery was almost unheard of in 1962. Now it's common, along with stealing cars.

That Saturday, there were forty regulars and four new boys ('Any questions?' one was asked at the initial interview. 'Yes,' he said, 'whereabouts can I stow my bubble gum?'). Twelve boys had not turned up. 'Some set off together to come here and never make it,' said Hemmings. 'They ring up with some story, and when we ask them about it next time, they give an entirely different one. We then chat to them and explain they're being stupid. Of course, you'll always get the boy who goes out of here blowing raspberries and making catcalls, but we use the court as a last resort. I remember that it took me a year to get one boy through this centre. He would turn up here, blithely, at all hours. Of course, if it's quite obvious the boy is mickeytaking from the first time he comes, you realise that you're not going to get anywhere and take him back. But you judge it according to your own observations of the boy and reports that you get from schools, probation officers and local authorities.'

These reports (which are destroyed when a boy leaves) help build up background. Instructors at the centre are always advised if a boy is in any way backward, or suffering from, say, deafness. In return, they help Hemmings in his assessment of any boy. 'We always have two staff at PE, so we can watch the boys. In games you can see the timid boy, the bully and who has team spirit.'

Hemmings would like to see the centre's activities widened. As far as the senior attendance centres are concerned, however, the *Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System*, 1970, says: 'There is clearly a limit to the extent to which, for offenders of the seventeen to twenty age group, the regime could be developed along the lines of indoor recreational and other leisure activities. . . . We doubt whether sentencers or the public would regard this as an adequate objective for a penal sanction for young adult offenders.'

One argument in favour of expanding the neglected senior centres, and keeping the junior ones, is that the total cost of a sentence there is about £8 a week, whereas a remand costs nearly £30 a week and a detention centre over £20 a week. Another advantage is that the centres are not dependent on the overstretched probation service for organisation — which is likely to be the case with community service.

Those running both junior and senior centres are sure they are doing a good job. 'They must be of *some* help, surely,' said an officer at the senior centre. 'After all, it does give these lads a final chance before possible imprisonment. In my day there was nothing like it. These lads just used to get clumped.'

S.C.E.R.T., West Bengal

Date 18.9.75

Acc. No. 2485

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Manchester senior attendance centre

Nancy Goodman

Nancy Goodman's analytical account of the Manchester Senior Attendance Centre complements the preceding article and offers a wealth of background detail regarding the Centre's functioning since its inception in 1958 when it was pioneering new ground. The author's follow-up evaluation of the ex-attenders is especially valuable since she shows that attendance centre orders were not very much more effective, when judged by reconviction rates, than straightforward fines would have been.

The Criminal Justice Act 1948, made provision for a new form of treatment of offenders under twenty-one years of age — the attendance centre. Section 19 of this Act says:

Where a court of summary jurisdiction has power . . . to impose imprisonment on a person who is not less than twelve but under twenty-one years of age, or to deal with any person . . . for failure to comply with any of the requirements of a probation order, the court may, if it has been notified by the Secretary of State that an attendance centre is available for the reception from that court of persons of his class or description, order him to attend at such a centre, to be specified in the order, for such number of hours, not exceeding twelve in the aggregate, as may be so specified:

Provided that no such order shall be made in the case of a person who has been previously sentenced to imprisonment, Borstal training or detention centre, or has been ordered to be sent to an approved school.

The Criminal Justice Act of 1961 reduced the minimum age to ten years and allowed the number of hours to exceed twelve in certain circumstances. These alterations came into effect on 2 October 1961.

The first centre for boys under seventeen was opened in the middle of 1950 and there are now over forty such centres. In December 1958 the Prison Commissioners opened an attendance centre for youths aged seventeen to twenty years in Manchester. Another was not opened until the spring of 1964, in Greenwich.

This analysis deals with the intake to the Manchester centre during the first three years. The information is compiled mainly from what the youth himself said when questioned at his first attendance and its veracity cannot always be checked. The details of subsequent offences have been obtained from the Criminal Record Office and, where such a record exists for a youth, the previous criminal history could also be checked.

There were five young men ordered to attend in 1958, 52 in 1959, 114 in 1960 and 114 in 1961, making 285 in all.* Of these, there were twenty-one (four, eleven and six) who never attended the centre or for whom the order was revoked before their first appearance. The order was discharged for another thirty-three of the young men during their period of attendance, for which the following reasons were given: seventeen for non-attendance, seven for committing a further offence whilst still attending the centre, four for medical reasons, three were released to join ships, one committed a breach of the centre rules and one was found to have been at an approved school. This analysis will relate to the 264 who actually attended during 1958-61, whether they completed the required number of hours or not.

DESCRIPTION OF CENTRE

The centre is equipped to take thirty youths from courts in and around Manchester, and is open each Saturday afternoon, except the last in every month. It is held at the Police Headquarters, Longsight, and comprises one large hall. The staff are a principal officer, a principal instructor, a physical education instructor and an executive officer — all volunteers from the staff of Manchester Prison. Youths normally complete their sentences of between twelve and twenty-four hours in periods of two hours, but this may be varied as a disciplinary measure by the officer-in-charge, who may instruct a young man to attend for one hour only, thereby extending the number of Saturdays which the youth has to sacrifice.

It was originally intended that the period of attendance should be divided into two — the first hour to be spent in cleaning and redecorating the premises, the second in doing PT — but that any lad who responded well to treatment should be given constructive occupation under instruction in such activities as first-aid, shoe repairing, elementary electrical

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maintenance, etc. Unfortunately, due to a lack of proper facilities and other difficulties, no instruction has been given so far. However, the cleaning and redecorating, which take a full hour, provide a useful service appreciated by the police who use the premises during the week, and the cleaning of the floor is a necessary preparation to the PT session following.

The attendance centre is a form of punishment more serious than most fines but not so severe as imprisonment and the presence of prison staff rather than police gives the lads rather a jolt on their first attendance.

DESCRIPTION OF THE 264 ATTENDERS

Age and schooling

Two-thirds of the young men were in the lower half of the age range, all but nineteen had attended secondary modern schools and only four had stayed at school beyond fifteen years of age, although three-quarters had attended some form of classes after leaving school. (The proportion of schoolchildren not leaving school until sixteen or older in England and Wales as a whole in 1960 has been estimated conservatively at between a quarter and a fifth.)

These youths were born in the period 1938–44 and so were almost entirely war children.

Living and family situation

Nine of the young men were married and living with their wives. Of the remaining 255, 227 (89 per cent) were living with one or both natural parents, fourteen (6 per cent) with other relatives and eleven (4 per cent) were in lodgings. Sixty-one per cent said that they belonged to the Church of England, 37 per cent Roman Catholics. Fifty-seven (22 per cent) had lost one or both parents, most frequently their father (in forty-one cases) and for a further nineteen (7 per cent) their parents were living apart. This 29 per cent is comparable with the 27 per cent of boys attending junior centres reported by McClintock (1961) to be living with only one or with neither parent. It is not known if this is a larger proportion than for other youths of this generation; their fathers were of a vulnerable age group during the war and also they were from an industrial area where the risk of fatal accidents at work would naturally be higher than for the country as a whole.

Twenty of the boys (8 per cent) were only children, whilst just over a third had four or more brothers or sisters. (This latter compares with 46 per cent found by McClintock for fifteen to sixteen year old boys at junior centres.)

The average number of siblings of the youths attending the centre was 3.0 per cent compared with 3.7 per cent found by McClintock for his fifteen to sixteen year old attendance centre boys. In estimating the average size of families from which the senior attendance centre boys came, allowance must be made for the fact that, if all boys in a family are equally likely to offend, a family with, say, three male children stands three times the chance of being represented than would a family with one boy. Taking this into account, it is estimated that the average size of the youth's family is 3.3 children, a smaller size than was found by McClintock.

Occupation of father

The father's occupation as recorded on the form consisted in many cases only of a broad description, such as 'engineer'. Of the 174 young men living with both parents, only two appeared to have fathers in the Registrar-General's social classes higher than class III. The majority of fathers were skilled men (fitters, turners, wireworkers, textile workers, drivers, etc) or unskilled manual workers (dock labourers, other labourers, cleaners, etc) as would be expected from the area in which the centre is situated.

Job history

Most of the young men had had several changes of job since leaving school but 122 (46 per cent) had stayed at least two years in one job. One hundred and twenty (45 per cent) had received some sort of training. Only thirteen had had any experience of office work.

The time since leaving school must vary for the seventeen year olds compared with the older youths, and the number of jobs was examined in relation to age. Rather surprisingly, as many as a quarter of those aged seventeen (twenty-five) had had five or more jobs; the comparable figure for the eighteen year olds was 40 per cent (twenty-nine) and for those aged nineteen or twenty, 33 per cent (twenty-nine). (These proportions are not significantly different statistically at the 5 per cent level.)

OFFENCES FOR WHICH THE ATTENDANCE CENTRE ORDER WAS MADE

In half the cases, the young man had been convicted of being drunk or drunk and disorderly; the next most frequent offences were larceny and motoring offences (mostly 'taking and driving away') each of which accounted for a fifth of the total. Assault, disorderly behaviour, malicious

wounding or possession of an offensive weapon together came to 9 per cent of the total cases. (The relation of offence to age and to the particular court passing sentence is dealt with later.)

<i>Offence group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Drunk or drunk and disorderly	129	49
Motor offences*	45	17
Larceny	46	17
Assault, malicious wounding, disorderly behaviour, etc.	24	9
Wilful damage	10	4
Loitering with intent, on enclosed premises, etc.	5	2
Others	5	2
Total	264	100

* 'Taking and driving away' and minor Road Traffic Act offences.

The dividing line between these categories is not always clear. For example, one young man was convicted of 'stealing a glass valued 1s 8d' (9p) but he was said to be drunk at the time. Another's offence was stealing a motorcycle which may well have been similar to 'taking and driving away'. A youth ordered to the centre for stealing a lavatory chain was at the same time put on probation for fighting in the street when presumably he could have been using the chain as a weapon and thus be in a similar position to the young man who was charged with 'being in the possession of an offensive weapon, a metal studded belt'.

Besides 'drunk and disorderly' and 'taking and driving away' the offences, even as stated, covered a wide range including riding a pedalcycle without lights or reflector, stealing an ashtray, failing to comply with the conditions of a probation order, indecently assaulting a female and assault occasioning bodily harm.

For just over a third of the young men, the offence was the first with which they had been charged, almost a similar proportion had been convicted of one previous offence, eighteen had already had four or more convictions. Sixty-five (24 per cent) had first offended while of schoolage.

The larceny group tended to have the highest percentage of first offenders and the 'taking and driving' and 'others' groups had the greatest proportion of early starters in offending, although there was no statistical significance in the difference between proportions in the offence groups for either of these characteristics.

The most frequent penalty given in the past was a fine, given in 106 (40 per cent) of the cases; sixty-one (23 per cent) had previously been put on

<i>Previous convictions</i>	<i>All offenders (%)</i>		<i>Drunk and disorderly</i>	<i>'Taking and driving', etc.</i>	<i>Larceny</i>	<i>Others</i>
None	98	37	50	16	22	10
1	79	30	36	13	13	17
2	48	18	22	10	6	10
3	18	7	9	3	3	3
4 and over	18	7	10	2	2	4
Unknown	3	1	2	1	—	—
Total	264	100	129	45	46	44
<i>Age at first offence</i>						
Under 10	11	4	6	2	1	2
10 < 15	54	20	17	15	9	13
15 and over	191	73	99	28	35	29
Unknown	8	3	7	—	1	—
Total	264	100	129	45	46	44

probation, seven had had institutional treatment.* Some of the youths, of course, had had several of these penalties.

THE USE MADE OF THE CENTRE BY THE COURTS

Ninety per cent of the young men had been sentenced by the magistrates in Salford or Manchester: Bury, Bolton, Eccles, Knutsford, Radcliffe and Heywood magistrates used the centre only occasionally, probably due to the distance of the centre from the boy's home. Salford magistrates made increasing use over the three years and by 1961 70 per cent of the young men were sent from courts in this borough.

Moreover, Salford sent more drunk and disorderly youths to the centre, 102 (79 per cent) of the 129 in this group. This, together with the increasing use of the centre by this borough, meant that in 1961 'drunks' formed a greater proportion of all offenders (60 per cent compared with 38 per cent in 1959-60).

Further information about the proportion of youths appearing before the Salford court who are sent to the centre has been given by the Chief Constable. From December 1958 to September 1962, 176 youths were ordered to attend the centre, the offence of 128 (73 per cent) of these being drunkenness. During this time, 576 youths of this age group

* Three had been at remand homes, two at approved schools (a fact which was unknown at first by the centre), one at a reformatory in Eire, and one at a probation hostel.

appeared before the court for this offence so that attendance centre orders were given in between one-fifth to one-quarter of the cases of drunkenness. For indictable offences only twenty-eight out of a total of 456 (6 per cent) appearing before the court were sent to the centre. Further comparison between those convicted of drunkenness and given attendance centre orders and those fined is made later.

The courts obviously applied different standards of selection to persons of different ages. The seventeen year old youths ordered to attend were charged with what appeared to be more serious offences than those in the older groups and had started offending earlier, though they did not seem to have a significantly different number of previous convictions. These characteristics, when they appeared in older offenders, apparently earned other sentences:

<i>Age</i>	17	18	19	20
<i>Total in group *</i>	102	73	61	27
<i>Previous convictions</i>				
None	31	32	28	7
1	37	21	15	6
2*	18	14	6	9
3	8	3	3	4
4 or more	7	3	7	1
Unknown	1	—	2	—
<i>Age at first offence</i>				
Under 10	6	3	2	—
10–14	27	15	10	2
15–17	66	16	6	6
18 and over	—	39	39	19
Unknown	3	—	4	—
<i>Offence</i>				
Drunkenness	31	45	37	16
Motoring	25	10	5	5
Larceny*	21	9	12	3
Malicious wounding, etc.	15	4	4	1
Loitering with intent, on enclosed premises	2	1	2	—
Wilful damage	5	3	1	1
Indecent assault on girl	2	—	—	—
Others	1	1	—	1
<i>Year</i>				
1959	23	12	12	6
1960	42	33	19	9
1961	37	28	30	12

* Age not recorded for one young man.

The greater proportion of older persons in 1961 is related to the increasing use of the centre by the court in Salford for cases of drunkenness. These cases sent to the attendance centre tend to have fewer 'early starters' in that 23 out of 129 (18 per cent) of the drunk and disorderly youths first offended at schoolage compared with 42 out of 135 (31 per cent) of those sent convicted of other offences. This may be expected, since there is prohibition on serving people under eighteen with alcoholic drinks and since money is needed *before* one can offend in this way, in distinction to most other offences where the acquisition of money or goods is the *aim* of the offender.

The selection of a different type of young man from a different area in 1961 may be related to the increased proportion who had received further education of some form after leaving school; among the 1959-60 intake this was twenty-six (17 per cent) and in 1961 it was forty-two (39 per cent).

SUBSEQUENT OFFENCES WITHIN ONE YEAR OF FIRST ATTENDANCE AT THE CENTRE

People attending the centre were followed up at the Criminal Record Office for subsequent offences. Fifteen of those attending in 1959, twenty-six of those in 1960 and twenty-eight of those in 1961 had

Total number attending in 1959, 1960 and 1961 = 264
Number reoffending within one year = 69 (26%)

Age					C of E	Religion	
	17	18	19	20		RC	Other
Number	102	73	61	27	160	98	6
Reoffenders	33	20	10	6	43	25	1
Percentage	32	27	17	22	27	26	
			18%				
School	Sec. Mod.		Others	Left at 15		Further education	None
Number	245		19	250		68	196
Reoffenders	66		3	65		19	50
Percentage	27		(16)	26		28	26
Parents	Alive and together		Separated	Mother dead	Father dead	Both dead	Un-recorded
Number	175		19	16	39	—	6
Reoffenders	43		5	5	11	2	4
Percentage	25		28%				

offended again within a year of first attending the centre, a twelve month reconviction rate of 26 per cent for each year's intake.

There was no difference in the rate according to the type of school, religious affiliation, size of family and between youths with both parents alive compared with those who had lost one parent or both.

There was a slight inverse gradient with age which may have been related to the different standards of selection. The reconviction rates of youths in the various offence groups differed in that the 'taking and driving away' offenders reoffended more often.*

<i>Offence</i>	<i>Drunk</i>	<i>Taking and driving</i>		<i>Larceny</i>	<i>Malicious wounding</i>	<i>Wilful damage</i>		<i>Others</i>	
Number	129	44		46	24	10		11	
Reoffenders	30	18		11	6	2		2	
Percentage	23	41		24	22%				
<i>Number of sibs</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>6+</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
Number	20	51	51	40	34	22	16	24	6
Reoffenders	4	12	15	13	7	3	4	9	2
Percentage	20	24	29	32	21	26%			

The two fields in which subsequent offenders differed most markedly from those not offending within a year were job history and previous convictions. Age at first offence did not appear to differentiate except where the first offending had been at eighteen years or older.

<i>Number of jobs since leaving school</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7 and over</i>	<i>Un-recorded</i>
Number	40	45	45	49	23	24	36	2
Reoffenders	6	11	11	13	6	7	15	—
Percentage	15	24	24	27	26	29	42	—
<i>Previous convictions</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4 and over</i>		<i>Un-recorded</i>	
Number	98	79	48	18	18		3	
Reoffenders	15	21	19	5	9		—	
Percentage	15	27	40	39%			—	
<i>Age at first offence</i>	<i>Under 10</i>	<i>10-14</i>	<i>15-17</i>	<i>18 and over</i>	<i>Unrecorded</i>			
Number	11	54	95	97	7			
Reoffenders	2	17	32	16	2			
Percentage	(18)	32	34	17	—			

* This characteristic was also found among a random group of offenders in the Metropolitan Police district in 1956. The result was not attributable to more previous convictions.

The relation between previous *indictable* convictions and reconvictions was very similar to that found in other studies for the same age group (Home Office, 1964). Hence it appears that, if previous indictable convictions are the only consideration, the attendance centre as a treatment, is neither worse nor better than other forms.

<i>Number of previous indictable offences</i>	<i>Number of boys</i>	<i>Number reconvicted</i>	<i>Expected rates (%)</i> *
0	147	29 = 20%	20-25
1	64	21 = 33%	30-35
2 or more	45	17 = 38%	35-45

* Insufficient information in eight cases.

The interval between the first centre attendance and the reoffence is shown below. Two-thirds of those who were going to reoffend within a year did so before six months had passed. The *proportion* of reoffenders among youths with three or more offences was about twice that among the first and second offenders although the *speed* of reoffending was about the same.

<i>Time from first attendance to reoffence</i>	<i>Youths who had a subsequent offence</i>		<i>Subsequent offenders with</i>					
			<i>One previous conviction*</i>		<i>Two previous convictions*</i>		<i>Three or more previous convictions*</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of those at risk</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of those at risk</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of those at risk</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of those at risk</i>
Under 1 m	11	4	2	2	3	4	6	7
1 < 3 m	18	7	4	4	6	8	8	10
3 < 6 m	15	7	2	2	4	6	9	13
6 < 9 m	14	7	3	3	5	8	6	10
9 m < 1 y	11	6	4	5	3	5	4	7

* Including the conviction for which the attendance centre order was made.

The scoring of Mannheim and Wilkins (1955) for Borstal boys was not a very appropriate predictor of success for these youths since previous committal to prison or approved school (scoring eight points) did not apply and the factor of living in an industrial area (also scoring eight

points) did not add to any discrimination since it applied to all those at the centre. The remaining factors contributing to the scoring were thus: evidence of drunkenness, previous treatments, longest period in any job and whether living with parents or not. These divided the centre young men into three groups with reconviction rates of 19 per cent, 30 per cent and 37 per cent compared with expectations of 16 per cent, 36 per cent and 43 per cent from Mannheim and Wilkins, but nearly half the youths came into the first group. Using the number of convictions only, the failure rate for those with under three previous convictions was 20 per cent (thirty-six out of 177) and for those with three or more convictions 39 per cent (thirty-three out of eighty-four). For drunkenness cases by themselves, these proportions were 16 per cent (fourteen from eighty-eight) and 44 per cent (seventeen from thirty-nine).

The offences for which reconviction occurred varied widely. These reconvictions were divided into three groups, roughly in order of severity of offence, to see whether the youths in these groups could be distinguished at the time of their attendance centre offence. The grading of offences was of course subjective and, on the limited information available, open to misclassification whatever criterion was used. Penalty received, a relatively objective criterion, cannot be used since this depends partly on previous record as well as the severity of the offence. Those classified as 'major' offences were:

assault occasioning actual bodily harm,
breaking and entering,
robbery,
found on enclosed premises,
driving whilst disqualified.

'Minor' offences* were:

taking and driving away,
drunkenness,
wilful damage.

A group of offences described as 'stealing' (plus one receiving) were put into a separate category.

Numbers in these groups are very small but comparison of the 'major' and 'minor' groups indicated that frequency of job-change and number of previous convictions seemed to distinguish not only reoffenders from those not offending again, but also those committing serious from less serious subsequent offences. In addition, the age at first conviction was slightly different in the reoffending groups.

* Minor offences may not be complete as not all are consistently notified to CRO.

<i>Number of jobs since leaving school</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5 and 6</i>	<i>7 and over</i>	<i>Un-known</i>	<i>Total</i>
No reoffence	34	34	34	36	34	21	2	195
Major reoffence	1	4	6	3	8	7	—	29
Stealing	1	2	2	4	4	5	—	18
Minor reoffence	4	5	3	6	1	3	—	22
Total reoffending	6	11	11	13	15	15	—	69

<i>Previous convictions</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4+</i>	<i>Un-known</i>	<i>Total</i>
No reoffence	84	58	29	13	8	3	195
Major reoffence	4	10	7	4	4	—	29
Stealing	4	5	4	1	4	—	18
Minor reoffence	7	6	8	—	1	—	22
Total reoffending	15	21	19	5	9	—	69

<i>Age at first offence</i>	<i>Under 10</i>	<i>10-14</i>	<i>15-17</i>	<i>18 and over</i>	<i>Un-known</i>	<i>Total</i>
No reoffence	9	36	63	82	5	195
Major reoffence	1	11	12	4	1	29
Stealing	1	4	7	6	—	18
Minor reoffence	—	2	13	6	1	22
Total reoffending	2	17	32	16	2	69

COMPARISON OF RECONVICTION RATES OF MEN CONVICTED OF BEING DRUNK WHO WERE SENT TO THE ATTENDANCE CENTRE WITH THOSE WHO WERE FINED

Through the courtesy of the stipendiary magistrate of Salford, a list was obtained of all young men aged seventeen to twenty inclusive who were convicted during 1961, except those convicted of minor motoring offences (eg, driving a motorcycle at more than 30 mph), dropping litter, playing football in the street, etc. There were 350 such men of whom 164 were cases of drunkenness. Approximately two-thirds of these latter were fined and almost a third ordered to go to the attendance centre; only 4 per cent were given other penalties.

The Chief Constable of Salford arranged to supply details of any previous or subsequent offences for the youths convicted of drunkenness. (These convictions differed from those supplied by CRO since offences such as drunkenness and taking and driving away need not be notified to

CRO.) Youths not resident in Salford, although sentenced in that city, had to be excluded since records of their offences were not kept by Salford police and there was no record of where they were living. As the Manchester docks are in Salford, a number of seamen were in this series and they also were excluded. The exclusions are given below, leaving thirty-two attendance centre boys and fifty-seven who were fined.

<i>Drunkenness</i>	<i>Attendance centre</i>	<i>Fined</i>
<i>Total number of appearances</i>	53	101
Non-resident	14	17
Seamen	1	18
Did not attend centre	6	—
Imprisoned in lieu of fine	—	1
Appeared more than once in the year	—	8
Remainder	32	57

The characteristics of the two groups are given below:

	<i>Drunkenness</i>	<i>Attendance Centre</i>		<i>Fines</i>	
Total number		32		57	
<i>Age</i>	17	11	34%	12	21%
	18	9	28%	17	30%
	19	9	28%	15	26%
	20	3	9%	13	23%
<i>Previous convictions</i>					
	None	14	44%	16	28%
	1	6	19%	10	18%
	2	3	9%	5	9%
	3	4	13%	2	4%
	4	2	6%	8	14%
	5	1	3%	8	14%
	Over 5	2	6%	8	14%
	No previous indictable conviction(s)	19	59%	24	42%
	1 previous indictable conviction	7	22%	14	25%
	2 previous indictable convictions	3	9%	4	7%
	3 and over previous indictable convictions	3	9%	15	26%

Those sent to the attendance centre were younger and more of them were first offenders than were those who were fined. This was so whether any offence or only indictable offences were considered.

Any reconviction within a period of eighteen months from the conviction was recorded and has been shown in the next table related to age and previous convictions. (The numbers who were reconvicted within this period are shown in brackets.)

<i>Drunkenness</i>		<i>Previous convictions</i>							
	<i>Age</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5 and more</i>		<i>Total</i>
<i>Attendance Centre boys</i>	17	2 (0)	3 (2)	1 (0)	1 (0)	1 (1)	3 (2)		11 (5)
	18	5 (2)	2 (2)	—	1 (1)	1 (1)	—		9 (6)
	19	5 (1)	1 (0)	1 (1)	2 (2)	—	—		9 (4)
	20	2 (1)	—	1 (0)	—	—	—		3 (1)
	All ages	14 (4)	6 (4)	3 (1)	4 (3)	2 (2)	3 (2)	18 = 67% (12)	32 (16 = 50%)
<i>Fined boys</i>	17	1 (0)	2 (0)	—	—	4 (3)	5 (5)		12 (8)
	18	9 (2)	—	1 (0)	2 (1)	2 (0)	3 (1)		17 (4)
	19	4 (2)	5 (3)	3 (0)	—	1 (1)	2 (2)		15 (8)
	20	2 (0)	3 (1)	1 (0)	—	1 (1)	6 (4)		13 (6)
	All ages	16 (4)	10 (4)	5 (0)	2 (1)	8 (5)	16 (12)	41 = 54% (22)	57 (26 = 46%)

The overall eighteen month reconviction rate is very similar for youths in either treatment group as is the comparable rate for those with no previous convictions or with many. (The eighteen year old young men appear to have a somewhat better after-history when fined than when sent to the attendance centre, but numbers are too small for any definite conclusions to be drawn.)

Although the proportion reoffending was very similar in the two groups, the speed of offending seemed to be slower in the attendance centre group. Of those who did offend in the eighteen month period, six of the sixteen attendance centre youths but only two of the twenty-six fined did so more than one year after the index offence.

The centre attendances cover six weeks in the majority of cases. Although some offended again whilst still attending, it does seem that these youths were somewhat slower to reoffend, although they 'caught up'

with the fined youths in eighteen months. This deterrent effect may only operate for the minor 'spur of the moment' type of offence such as taking and driving away or getting drunk, for if only indictable offences are considered the speed as well as the rate appeared to be very little different. However, the number so offending is very small (seven and fifteen respectively).

In this comparison of the two types of treatment for young men charged with the same offence in the same area, age and previous history have been equated. Social background, however, could not be equated and the stipendiary magistrate who deals with the majority of these cases says that he takes this background into consideration when he selects which treatment is to be given, the 'better' class boys being more often given fines. Nevertheless, little difference appears in the relative effectiveness of the two penalties as regards subsequent offending except the delaying of minor reoffending in the centre boys.

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The origins of the philosophy of detention centres

Valerie Choppen

This extract deals with the development and history of detention centres since their beginnings in the 1950s. Originally they were designed to be mainly punitive in character but have modified their regime somewhat since those early days. Detention centres have always been a subject of dispute and argument amongst professional penologists, many of whom have considered their methods too limited and even brutal. Increasing emphasis on the need for rehabilitation of offenders in a much more sympathetic environment has lead the authorities to accept their ultimate discontinuation.

The Advisory Council on the Penal System was asked, in July 1967, by the then Home Secretary (Roy Jenkins) to review the detention centre system. The Council set up a subcommittee to do its work under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Exeter. In a letter to the Rt Hon Kenneth Younger (26 July 1967) the Home Secretary set out the terms of reference:

The detention centres are now fully used by the magistrates who are perhaps their strongest supporters and would like to have more of them; but there is evidence that they send to detention a good many offenders who are unlikely to benefit from this type of treatment. In other quarters, the absence of a clear guiding philosophy, and a suspicion of the original concept, are reflected in a growing uneasiness about the functions and work of the detention centres. . . .

The subcommittee has now reported. Perhaps its recommendations can best be judged in the light of an understanding of the historical development of detention centres. Detailed knowledge of the aims of the centres can be used to judge how well this type of institution has functioned.

The interesting feature about detention centres is that in the 1938 Criminal Justice Bill there is no mention of them, yet ten years later they sprang, fully-grown like Athene, in the Criminal Justice Act. From where did they spring?

Borstal institutions originated in 1895 with the Gladstone Committee [1], the first borstal opening in 1902 [2]. Basically, they were evolved as a means of keeping young offenders (aged fifteen to twenty-one, out of prison, and it was this aim which caused penal attitudes towards, and penal facilities for, the young to be differentiated from those for adults convicted of offences. This aim came to full flower in the 1938 Criminal Justice Bill, which noticeably contained no provision akin to the detention centre system.

In October 1937, at the Magistrates' Association Annual Conference, Mr Basil Henriques — speaking as the Chairman of the Young Prisoners' Committee of the Royal Society for the Assistance of Discharged Prisoners — made a strong appeal for the cessation of the practice of sending boys under twenty-one to prison as this resulted in the manufacture of criminals. He pointed out that without being sentenced to prison young boys could, none the less, end up there with damaging results. This was because magistrates were told that all boys under twenty-one were sent to a boy's prison — but such a place did not exist in England; nor was there such a thing as modified borstal training. When magistrates sentenced boys to three to six months' modified borstal, they were actually committing them to imprisonment since every such boy spent from one to three months in Wormwood Scrubs prison before being sent to the appropriate institution. Mr Henriques recommended the establishment of a special institution, not attached to an ordinary prison, for boys on remand, those serving sentences, and those awaiting transfer to borstal [3].

In this same month, the Magistrates' Association suggested, in its Sixteenth Annual Report, a new type of sentence for offenders aged seventeen to twenty-three years, and criticised short sentences of imprisonment for young people between seventeen and twenty-one, particularly in cases ineligible for borstal treatment or probation:

The new type of sentence recommended should be known as Young Offenders' Detention and should be served in a Young Offenders' Centre. The minimum period of such a sentence should be three months and the maximum twelve months, to be followed by a year's supervision under a Probation Officer [4].

The Association was keen that these places of detention should be conducted on borstal lines and be situated where older offenders were not detained. The Council of the Association also advised that the Prison

Commissioners should have power to license such detainees after three months and, in special circumstances youths of sixteen and seventeen could be sent to these centres. The institution described by the Council bears many similarities to the detention centre as known today, although the regime is not defined.

In this enlightened atmosphere the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare announced in 1938 the introduction of a new Criminal Justice Bill. On 30 November Sir Samuel spoke in the debate following the Second Reading of the Bill, explaining its main objectives: '... to effect an immediate reduction in the number of young people received into prison and to provide for the ultimate abolition of imprisonment as a method of treatment for young offenders' [5]. Unfortunately, because of the advent of the Second World War the Bill failed to reach the House of Lords and was shelved.

The provisions of the 1938 Bill (differing in some respects) did not reappear until 31 October 1947, when the new Criminal Justice Bill was introduced by Mr Chuter Ede, the Secretary of State for the Home Office. When he introduced the Second Reading, Mr Ede said:

The proposals relating to young offenders are, in the main based on the recommendations of the Young Offenders' Committee which reported as long ago as 1927. Undoubtedly, most of these proposals would have been embodied in the Act of 1938. . . .

The Bill provides another alternative; that offenders between fourteen and twenty-one may be sentenced to detention in a detention centre, ordinarily for three months, or exceptionally for six months. It provides for the young offender for whom a fine or probation order would be inadequate, but who does not require the prolonged period of training which is given by an approved school or borstal institution.

There is a type of offender to whom it appears necessary to give a short, but sharp reminder that he is getting into ways that will inevitably land him in disaster. . . . Their regime will consist of brisk discipline and hard work [6].

One of the earliest bodies to consider short-term imprisonment of young offenders was the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders, under the Chairmanship of Sir Thomas F. Moloney, Bart. The Committee's Report, published in March 1927, considered young offenders in two groups — under seventeen, and seventeen to twenty-one years: 'On all grounds we should like to see an alternative to prison. . . . It may be suggested that in some cases a short period of detention would serve an effective purpose in breaking-up bad companionships which have contributed towards delinquency [7].

The report mentions the necessity of separating short-term and long-term cases, as well as the advice of witnesses who advocated some form of short detention in establishments other than prisons for up to six months, as a reformatory – and deterrent – measure. However, the 1927 Committee rejected this idea on the grounds that it would break up the educational development of the schoolage offender without allowing sufficient time for rehabilitative training.

The consideration of short-term detention was not resurrected until 1938 when the Cadogan Committee (a departmental committee on corporal punishment) concluded its report on the abolition of birching by suggesting that the advice of some of the committee's witnesses be implemented. Some of these seventy-two witnesses said additional powers were required to deal with minor cases where the offence was often due to a 'misguided sense of adventure' for which neither probation nor approved school was the right answer: '... in many of these cases, what the offender really needs is not prolonged supervision and training, but some form of *short and sharp punishment* which will pull him up and give him the lesson which he needs' [8].

It is true that at this time Section 54 of the Children and Young Persons' Act 1933 provided for punitive detention in a remand home for a period not exceeding one month, but the Cadogan Report said little use was made of this provision for the probable reason that the average remand home was not designed to give such treatment.

For these reasons, the report suggested that in order to make this penalty effective 'special places of detention' [9] should be established, apart from the existing remand homes, where offenders could be kept under punitive conditions for up to one month, experiencing strict discipline and hard work. One of the advocates of this system expressed his objective as follows: 'I don't want them to be really unhappy, but I want them to hate the place sufficiently to determine them never to return, and furthermore, to tell other members of their gang about its unpleasantness' [9]. In its summary, the Cadogan Committee report suggested – especially since it recommended the abolition of corporal punishment – that further consideration be given to the question of strengthening the authority of juvenile courts by conferring on them some additional powers to enable them to deal with those cases requiring merely some form of punishment which would operate effectively as a deterrent.

Apart from the duration of sentence, the 'special places of detention' correspond closely with the detention centres of the 1948 Criminal Justice Act. An interesting question (though unlikely to be answered) would be to know which of the witnesses put forward the suggestion of punitive detention. Did they refer back to the report of the Departmental Committee on

the Treatment of Young Offenders [9], did any of them sit on that committee, or was the idea abstracted from the more stringent and long-term proposals made by the Magistrates' Association in 1937?

Unfortunately, no records of the Cadogan Committee exist other than the report (owing to wartime restrictions in the usage of paper) so it is impossible to delve any further into this matter and find out more about the origin of the idea for punitive detention centres as put to the Committee.

Although the Committee's recommendations on the abolition of birching were incorporated in the 1938 Criminal Justice Bill, their other proposals attracted no attention.

From newspaper articles, published debates and journals it can be seen that between the end of the war and the introduction of the 1949 Criminal Justice Act, interested bodies were becoming more involved with the problem of the treatment of juvenile delinquents. For example, Mr Justice Hilbery, President of the new Reading Justices' Club, speaking in 1947 on 'Punishment and Reformatory Sentences' mentioned some young offenders 'for whom a sharp lesson was more beneficial than prolonged reformatory detention' [10]. At a lecture given in June 1946, Lt-Colonel J. C. Penton, RAMC, spoke on 'Lessons from the Army for Penal Reformers' [11]. Speaking of military detention camps he said it was worth considering how this method of dealing with delinquents, which had been so successful in the army, could be applied in civilian life. This point was taken up by Nigel Walker in his book *Crime and Punishment in Britain* [12] where he said: 'Detention centres owed their inspiration to the military detention camps of the Second World War.' Certainly the early detention centres bore the militaristic features of 'bull', 'square-bashing' and 'moving at the double', but it is more probable that military detention camps suggested ideas for the regime of detention centres rather than initiated them. It is much more likely that the short-term detention suggestions of the 1920s and 1930s were investigated and incorporated in the 1948 Act by the bodies which contributed to the drawing-up of that legislation, namely the Home Office and ACTO (the Advisory Council of the Treatment of Offenders, appointed in 1944).

Thus, considering the already quoted suggestions and the prevailing attitude of the postwar period towards young offenders, it can be supposed that the proposals for detention centres in the 1948 Criminal Justice Act were derived not from one source but from a strand of varied ideas which were working towards the same aim, that of keeping juvenile delinquents out of prison.

The detention centre clauses in the new Bill were not greeted with entirely open arms, the Magistrates' Association in particular pointing out

weaknesses which might cause the administration of the centres to thwart the avowed aim of rehabilitation and make the centres purely deterrent. The Bill was closely examined by an *ad hoc* committee of the Magistrates' Association in 1947, and a number of recommendations made which the Council of the Association agreed. These were that the provision of detention centres be extended to cover children under fourteen, with such centres housed in separate buildings, and that detention be followed by a period of supervision not exceeding twelve months, with the sanction of either a fine or another month's detention. A further concern of the Council was that education and training should be provided to prevent detention centres degenerating into prisons for young people [13].

The Howard Journal of 1947–48 in its editorial discussed the pros and cons of detention centres: 'The purpose of the detention centres seems to be purely and avowedly deterrent. . . .' Two positive attributes of the centres were, however, noted: first they avoided the evil of taking away a large slice of a young person's life whilst still providing punishment without imprisonment, and secondly, without the provision of a 'short, sharp deterrent alternative' [14] the courts would not be dissuaded from sending young offenders to prison. Even so, the *Journal* criticised other features of the new system; the lower age limit should be schoolleaving age to avoid interrupted education (also recommended by the House of Lords), and guarantees should be given that the centres would not be housed in prisons. Finally it was queried what reason there was to suppose brisk discipline and hard work would deter – and that if all that was needed was a 'jolt', then three months was far too long. Two alternatives were suggested; the use of short-term schools, and the replacement in the Bill of the 1938 proposals for compulsory attendance centres. It was decided that junior and senior boys should not be mixed, so when the first detention centre opened at Campsfield House, Kidlington, Oxford, in August 1952 it catered for boys aged fourteen to sixteen. In 1954 a second centre in Goudhurst, Kent, opened for boys aged seventeen to twenty-one.

From the tone of Parliamentary discussions on detention centres [15] it can be seen that the idea was generally favoured with reservations, the main ones being:

- 1 Would staffing and location be good enough to prevent the centres becoming like prisons?
- 2 Would short sentences be truly deterrent or even beneficial?

It is this second point which is the crux of the matter and lies behind the investigation of detention centres by the subcommittee of the

Advisory Council on the Penal System. Without going into a detailed discussion of criminological theory I think it reasonable to say that today the elements of punishment and retribution inbuilt in our penal system are recognised as an anachronism at least, if not a proven failure in the struggle to reduce both the crime rate and recidivism. Rehabilitation, particularly of the young offender, is the present aim. How do detention centres figure in this scheme?

Once the centres were in operation, their aims, facilities, regimes – and most of all – their results became the subject of interest and investigation [16]. In 1954 the *Daily Telegraph* published a report about a subcommittee of the Magistrates' Association, set up by the Association's Juvenile Courts and Treatment of Juvenile Offenders Committee. Three members of this subcommittee who had visited Campsfield House said that in some cases the wrong type of boy had been committed. Consequently, they made two suggestions in the light of their findings: first, that boys previously sentenced to approved schools should not be sent to detention centres, and second, a Home Office circular on methods of treatment should be issued, giving some reference to the type of boy for whom punitive detention might be suitable [17].

More official visits were paid to detention centres. In 1958 Mr Ernest Holmes speaking at the Annual Conference of the Association of Children's Officers attacked the centres: 'The most serious point is that they are under the Prison Commissioners and are subject to prison laws.' In his opinion, a detention centre was: '... the finest inoculation against prison we could imagine, but there was little or nothing constructive in it' [18]. Writing in 1957, Donald Ford, a juvenile court magistrate called the centres: '... a monument to loss of nerve ... destructive of human values' [19].

In 1959 the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders reported on its examination of proposals put forward by the Prison Commissioners for changes in methods of custodial treatment for young offenders [20]. The Magistrates' Association Council approved ACTO's findings, and in addition emphasised the need for some provision for compulsory aftercare to follow detention. They also suggested that detention centres were necessary for girls, as an alternative to imprisonment [21].

By 1960 the centres had undergone much scrutiny because they were so experimental, both in their approach and as part of the armoury of the courts. In addition, their regime had become less militaristic, as noted by D. L. Howard (author of *The English Prison*) who acknowledged that, whilst still pursuing their statutory objectives, the centres were 'increasingly concerned with rooting-out the causes of their boys' delinquency and making positive attempts at treatment' [22].

However, writing in the *Daily Telegraph*, W. F. Deedes, MP, voiced the fear: '... Detention has ceased to be the salutary shock for first offenders it was and youths now go to detention with previous convictions. They will be sent there increasingly, one suspects, not because it specially meets their needs, but because their particular offence rates six months or less' [23]. This was echoed by Lord Parker, CJ, who said: 'I am rather alarmed by the element of reform creeping into detention centres. It, to my mind, will defeat the object of the whole exercise' [24].

In 1961 a new Criminal Justice Act was passed which — as a result of nine years' experience of detention centres — made some changes in the legislation concerned with young offenders. The Act made provisions for the ultimate replacement of the majority of prison sentences for offenders under twenty-one years by sentences of detention [25], and a system of shortened borstal sentences. Aftercare was also made compulsory, with the sanction of recall. The detention centre inmate could not be recalled more than once, and he must not have been previously sentenced to borstal. This matter is an important point; witness evidence already presented, and also the passage in *The Sentence of the Court*:

While the detention centres have the greatest chance of success with offenders of little criminal sophistication and without previous experience of long periods in institutions . . . they do not only deal with first offenders; from the start they have received a fair proportion of offenders with previous institutional experience and criminal records [26].

W. E. Cavenagh makes the same point in her book [27] and says further that the mixed clientele of the centres makes constructive work or planned training difficult to achieve, and it thus becomes hard to estimate how effective the centres are. Max Grünhut, the then Reader in Criminology at Oxford University, also said this, but he favoured detention centres as part of a differentiated system of penal and corrective methods for delinquents, and found their results encouraging in terms of reappearance in court and improvement in character [28].

A general feeling of disquiet about detention centres led to an inquiry in 1966 by a subcommittee of the Penal Affairs Committee of the Society of Friends. The investigators asked themselves three questions: (i) what are the purposes and functions of detention centres? (ii) what are the methods used in the centres? (iii) how are boys selected?

Underlying these questions is the basic one; is society still reluctant to give up the philosophy of retribution and deterrence in dealing with its young delinquents? Is society prepared to pay the price if it adopts the

alternative of rehabilitation, therapy and education as a policy which ultimately means the full involvement of all who are engaged with the individual in trouble? [29]

This report called for more research and experimentation with preventive measures, and recommended the establishment of day and weekend detention centres for fifteen to twenty-one year olds. Also that the maximum sentence should be limited to three months, work schemes be linked with community service and military discipline be reduced in favour of a regime developing self-control and a sense of personal responsibility [30].

In 1960 a Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders was held in London, and a General Report published, in which opinions expressed about detention centres in England are given [31]. Seven years later the European Committee on Crime Problems published a report comparing the short-term methods of treatment for young offenders in Germany and the United Kingdom. The report concluded:

We think that it is desirable to enlarge the range of short-term treatment possibilities in both penal and social fields. As a corollary to this we believe that there should not be an undue punitive emphasis in short-term treatment measures. . . .

Only in Germany has an attempt been made to assess optimum length of training. The results are not conclusive, but suggest that certain periods of detention are more effective than others [32].

These two international reports alone show that not only have detention centres themselves been the subject of debate and disagreement, but that this controversy reflects the deeper issues of penal philosophy – particularly in relation to the young offender.

The two most recent Government publications show that doubts about the benefits of detention centres are growing. The White Paper *Children in Trouble*, 1968, expressed concern over 'the drastic step of taking a child away from his parents and his home' [33], and stressed the need for forms of intermediary treatment. As a result of the recommendations of this Paper the junior detention centres have now closed. The other publication is an Interim Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System, and concerns girls in detention centres:

The conclusion reached in the report is that short-term custodial training is in principle unsuitable for girls, and it recommends the closure of Moor Court, the only detention centre for female offenders . . . [34].

We accept the consequence that occasionally a girl who is now sent to detention centre may be sent to prison for a short spell instead. . . .
[35]

Moor Court was closed in January 1969.

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- 5 *Hansard* (HC) 1938, vol. 342, cols 267–82.
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- 8 *Report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment*, Cmd 5684, March 1938, para. 31, amongst others (my italics) this must be the origin of the phrase used by Mr Chuter Ede in the House of Commons in 1947.
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The long blunt shock

Neale Pharaoh

This firsthand account of what it feels like to serve a sentence in a detention centre usefully supplements the forgoing article and reinforces the picture of the detention centre routine as being essentially tough. While no definitive assessment of the results of detention centre orders has yet been done, there are grounds for believing that their success rates have never been particularly high and that, like other institutional methods for treating adolescent offenders, they are becoming decreasingly effective.

'You are sentenced to three months' detention.' Those seven words marked, finally and irrevocably, my last glimpse of the outside world for three months; on Monday the tenth of December at 9 o'clock, I walked to the courtroom expecting a heavy fine, and at 10 o'clock, after several minutes standing before two magistrates, the Press, and the public, sentence was passed. Shaken, amazed, and a little frightened, I was led down from the dock by two policemen to a tiny cell beneath the courts, and when their car had arrived I was taken back to the police station. Within two hours I had made desperate attempts to tell my parents, arrange care of my flat and my belongings, and was speeding on my way to the particular centre the magistrate had chosen.

It was only later that I realised how fortunate I was in such rapid transit: my arrest occurred on a Thursday, bail was permitted until Monday and on Tuesday my sentence had begun; most of the detainees I met at the centre had waited for anything between one and ten weeks on remand or awaiting sentence prior to reception at their actual place of detention, which seemed a trifle unjust, since people who completed a three month sentence had, in fact, served an appreciably longer time. However, the car was nearing its destination. We travelled for what must have been three miles after turning off the main road, passing alternately

through dense woods and bare stretches of flat desolate land. The last house was passed some way back, and a cold blue notice board announced arrival. The surrounding countryside was as remote to me as the high barbed wire fence that enclosed the institution. Through the heavy iron gates, up a drive, through an oaken door and yet another barrier and I was inside the main block having already seen the first few faces of my fellow inmates.

Reception procedure was simple, giving an insight into what lay ahead and beginning the minor hardships and trivial degradations which then looked so overwhelming. As in entering the forces, it started with signing forms and ended with the shortest haircut you are ever likely to have in your life. The necessary forms signed, my pockets emptied, I was stripped and given a set of kit standard in most institutions, consisting of a blue tunic, striped shirt, blue tie, grey flannel trousers and cumbersome black shoes; after a bath I donned the unfamiliar clothing and was a prisoner. The officer doing reception duty was large and stern, but not unpleasant, and quickly gave my first lesson in detention centre life: all officers, the uniformed members of the prison service, were to be called sir; one said either *yes, sir* or *no, sir* to them and nothing else, and respect was to be shown to them at all times; the primary virtue I was to concern myself with was obedience whether the command was distasteful, ridiculous or even wrong. I was to obey at all times, without question and in all places. I was handed a leaflet that the governor had had printed to prepare new inmates for what was required of them. 'You have been sent here by the courts for a short course in moral, social and physical discipline.'

He reminded me that: 'Manners maketh man', and that I could gain one-sixth remission of my sentence for good behaviour and lose it very easily; that I could write one letter per week, receive one letter per week, that I could appeal and that finally I could see the governor from Monday to Friday on matters of 'inside' or 'outside' importance. After spending a short time in the cells known later in their truer function as 'punishment cells' I was marched by the officer, with a smiling but alien inmate, clutching my pillowcase filled with shaving kit, toothbrush, soap and washing materials under one arm and boots, overalls and gaiters under the other, to my cell in A wing, a long block of single cells occupied by inmates in the first stages of their sentences. It was 4.30 in the afternoon. I was a prisoner. I had committed a crime and was paying for it. I had stolen; I was losing my freedom.

The impressions that followed are still very vivid; only now are they beginning to recede.

That afternoon, just before the evening meal, I made my first contact

with the boys — whom I saw standing at ease at the doors of their cells as I was, waiting for the order to march off to the dining hall along the corridor after washing and changing from overalls. As soon as I was seen, I was plied with questions about the outside world: Just as rapidly I asked them about what I was now facing. They asked me the latest record at the top of the pop charts and I replied with the question that preoccupied me more than the prison routine itself: how fast did time pass there? It was little consolation to be told that it went astonishingly fast. Because it was comparatively minor, my offence was of paramount interest, news of it passing from cell to cell till it was known to all; we came to recognise each other by our various crimes — not so various, though, as one might imagine. The greater proportion of the inmates as far as I could gather, were 'in' either for motoring charges or house- and shop-breaking. Both quick-reward crimes which require little thought and often occur as a direct result of similar pressures: those of status value, in a young environment, of the motorcar or cycle. I received much evidence for this conclusion from their continual arguments on the merits of specific makes and types of vehicle, and of the money needed to fulfil the symbols of our adolescent values, obtained by simple theft. The other offences consisted of assault, usually on a policeman previously singled out as a recognised opponent to their activities in the area, or, more often, any unfortunate who was 'in the way' after a dance or drinking session. One met the single cases where detention was given for breaking probation or just *suspicion* of a multiple number of crimes, again usually petty theft, and one heard of others punished for more individual transgressions, but they represented a very small proportion of the total. What surprised me most was the vast difference in intelligence and practical ability of my fellows in contrast to their background and social responsibilities.

Most — like me — had seen family stress in the near or distant past and had failed to form a satisfactory relationship with one or both parents. All had tended to build an environment which was conducive to short-term decisions and to 'chance' living from day to day without much thought of longer than a week ahead; this had developed in some to such an extent that the prospect of a prison sentence was viewed very much as an occupational hazard and a matter of luck. This attitude varied between the rather large fraction who would undoubtedly repeat their crimes, in their own and officers opinions, and those who would never offend again; but quite definitely the attitudes existed. I even found it in myself, believing it bad luck in getting what was perhaps a heavier punishment than I was prepared for, in fact in getting caught at all.

Background and attitude offence and outlook, appeared at that stage to be very similar. Admittedly this was after relatively short contact with the

twenty odd boys who were housed in the same wing as I, but my cursory opinion of one-third of the boys whom I came to know was justified towards the end of my detention when I had met far more and had made several friendships which have continued since my release (any free contact between us was quite naturally limited owing to the rigorous and closely supervised regimentation). This pattern of behaviour subsisted without regard for social class or basic intelligence; during my stay I met seventy boys, no less than four of whom had been to a grammar school, one to a private secondary school; and one to a commercial art school and who was reasonably competent despite having completed only half of his course. Including myself, this meant that 10 per cent were of above average intelligence, yet they had responded in precisely the same way to society as their counterparts with less powers of communication.

On the other end of the scale I met boys who had been in and out of approved schools, exhausted all the possibilities of probation and would almost certainly be graduated to a borstal or prison; there was one who was virtually unable to read or write, not because he was incapable, but because he had just not bothered, and there were those whose fathers had been in prisons before them and had brothers, uncles and friends currently doing time. We were all in a detention centre.

It was, of course, a slow process to make enough acquaintance with my fellows to form any knowledge of their background and outlook, to build a coherent comparison with myself and to construct a conclusive picture of apparent similarities. It took the greater part of three months I was here before I had the opportunity to speak to a sufficiently broad cross-section of detainees. The first week was spent in trying to adapt to the rigorous discipline and deprivations which I had to learn to accept until my release and in adjusting my body to prison food, strenuous physical training and work, which were exhausting me then. We marched, we ran, we scrubbed, we polished; I was shouted at, drilled, inspected and drilled again; there were medicals and fitness tests, sermons and an 'education test'; until my first week had passed and the definite shock had changed to routine. I was not able to think of anything but the mixture of self-pity, helplessness and anger which so many of us felt at being forced into such intensely regulated, enclosed and uncomfortable unfamiliar behaviour.

The centre itself was new and clean, it had been open for less than a year. It was approached by a straight concrete drive, bordered on one side by a playing field and a line of prefabricated houses belonging to the officers on the other. It led up to the main gate which was set in the wire fence surrounding the inner buildings. In the middle of the compound was a parade square around which the central block, the hospital administration offices and gymnasium were arranged. The central block (with three

extended wings, one of cells and two of dormitories) had one floor and was built in separate interconnecting units off a corridor running along the entrance to each wing, so that the building was shaped like a letter E.

On the opposite side of this corridor was the dining hall, with small tables seating four, followed by a modern, well-equipped kitchen which produced adequate and substantial, if plain, food; further along there was a washroom with enough space for at least half of the entire centre to wash in, a row of toilets, a shower and bathroom, a laundry, a cloakroom and finally, a small washroom and a row of cells intended as a punishment block for persistent transgressors of discipline. Adjoining these was the reception office. Each one of these units was scrubbed out and if necessary, polished, each day — very often they were scrubbed more than once. Each wing was swept and kept clean and its single toilet washed. The corridor was treated in the same way. This scrupulous cleanliness was applied to our personal kit, to our lockers and equipment, and to ourselves.

Since my experience of any type of prison or institution is confined to this one it would be rash to make more than a tentative assertion that it was among the cleanest and best designed. However as it has been in operation for rather less than a year and there is a great deal of accessible material on conditions in the other types of penal institutions, borstals, reform schools and remand centres it would appear to be a reasonable claim. The officers at this centre had worked in most of the prisons in Great Britain and several of the borstals and it was readily agreed that we were living in the best conditions available for this type of institution and were eating extremely good food. I cannot disagree.

A detention centre is designed to give offenders under the age of twenty-one a 'short sharp shock' involving 'a short course in moral, social and physical discipline' acting as a deterrent to further offence. Therefore the routine is of necessity unpleasant, stringently adhered to and enforced by the officers. Under the conditions they are subjected to feeling among the detainees runs high, and tempers run short, and it often happened that this could only be dissipated by developing a real hatred for some of the stricter officers, with firm intentions of coming back after discharge and 'doing him over' or by fighting each other — a breach of discipline which resulted in a loss of remission. Routine at the detention centre is such that the detainee is kept occupied and closely supervised throughout the day. Each day except Sunday was started with fifteen minutes' PT on the parade ground at 6.30 am followed by a wash, shave and breakfast. At 8 am after a change into overalls and cleaning of the cells and dormitories there was a parade taken either by the governor or his principal officer.

Then every boy in the institution was marched to the job allocated him for the labour period — which was from just after 8 am until 4.30 pm with an hour for lunch and two short breaks at 10 and 3. From Monday to Friday each work party was subjected to one hour of PT in the gymnasium under the eye of a hard burly PTI; in the course of a week we sweated our way through timed circuits; weight training, exercises, 'punishment PT', gymnastics and basketball. There is much to be said for and against the type of training to which we had to adapt in the gymnasium for while it is not unfounded to criticise an officer who forces his victims to hang from wall-bars, run around with medicine balls above their heads, jump, bend, stretch, and do innumerable repetitive actions like press-ups to the point of real collapse it is fair to add that most boys gained in strength, weight and fitness in the process. Often the juncture is passed when the activity becomes a punishment and ceases to be beneficial, but one must bear in mind the intentions behind sending someone to a detention centre. These may or may not be wrong but must be complied with to test the efficacy of the intentions before one says that the PT there is overemphasised. We all suffered 'punishment' and 'circuits'; we were all punched and driven to what we thought were our limits but we all played basketball and football, parading our newly discovered muscles in the knowledge that none of us felt any lasting ill-effects. At the close of the labour period and our daily PT there was a final parade involving a search for cigarettes, iron bars and ropes in case any detainee contemplated smoking or escaping. At 4.30 pm we marched in, cold and tired, were given five minutes to wash and change and taken to the dining room for a cooked tea. The period following tea was split up into one hour of reading our library books which were changed weekly and a further two hours at classes of pottery, motor mechanics, English, basic mathematics, general science or PT of a less strenuous nature. Each class did one or two subjects each night except Wednesday, when kit was changed and we were paid the meagre 1s 6d (8p) we earned that week in sweets. Unfortunately these classes were largely ineffective since they gave the only available opportunity of the day to relax while not under direct supervision of an officer; the word 'education' tended to be purely nominal. If any detainee had transgressed one of the hundreds of minor regulations during the day, an extremely easy thing to do, the two pleasures of reading and classes were denied him and he spent what little energy he had left in polishing the corridors or washing up until it was time, at 8.30 pm for a mug of cocoa and bed. If the infringement warranted it, the extra work was extended until the weekend which was otherwise spent in reading, writing the single letter allowed each person, and preparing for a full Sunday inspection of all our kit laid out army style on our beds.

Any serious breach of discipline was rewarded with loss of remission or solitary confinement on a restricted diet, a beating, and in severe cases, a visiting magistrate, who could have prolonged the sentence or sent the offender to borstal training. In the three months I was there I saw all except the latter inflicted for transgressions ranging from smoking, talking out of place, and losing kit, to having dirty boots on parade; nevertheless, the favourite treatment was work. Nothing but futile, senseless work fills our miserable recollections.

On the principle that detention is a brief period of hardship acting purely as a deterrent, it follows that the work is far from being constructive and is invariably destructive. During the early part of his sentence, the detainee is employed in the main block scrubbing floors and polishing them, not so much with the object of getting floors clean, since they already are, but simply to degrade the boy, otherwise no officer would have said: 'On your knees, boy, when you scrub here you do it with both hands on the brush and both knees firmly on the ground', or on catching someone glancing at a scrap of newspaper salvaged from the offices, have shouted: 'You aren't here to read or think, boy, you are here to work', at the same time twisting the unfortunate's ear and pushing him down to do the inevitable press-ups. When it was felt the detainees had learned from this they joined the other parties working in the fields, the kitchen, laundry and workshops up to the final weeks when they were trusted to work outside the compound, clearing and sweeping the roads then covered with snow and ice. In the kitchen, laundry, workshops and in cleaning the main block, the work is not hard though it may occasionally be ridiculous. Digging fields, clearing roads, and stripping lengths of telephone cable to sell the lead and copper inside is arduous especially in the weather condition that England had last winter. The ridicule and degradation grew to painful proportions when, clad in thin denim overalls and boots, with an overcoated and gloved officer complaining of the bitter cold, one was forced to move snow in temperatures below freezing with sore, numb, bleeding hands trying to grip one's shovel. It would not be difficult to imagine this sort of discipline effective in deterring anyone against committing crimes. But is it? It is true to say that three months of blind obedience in digging holes, endless PT and continual unreasoning deprivation provides the emotive suggestion needed to serve as a deterrent when once more the offender is returned to his environment? And when that environment was largely responsible in providing the condition of mind which resulted in the offence leading to the detention and is likely to remain a catalyst to further deviation?

In an account of this nature it is not easy for the observer who is in full

participation to retain that degree of objectivity needed for valid criticism; on one level there are all the frustrated emotions born of imprisonment and on the other level, relying on a limited personal interpretation, it is possible to reach a spurious conclusion, for the temptation exists to consider what previous observers have said, and in using their terminology to justify their conclusions with further examples in trite attempts to be socially conscious. It is probable that my experience could be tinged too strongly with emotion and there may be some discrepancy between what I felt, torn as I was in angry bitterness and acceptance of the mechanism of social punishment and what was felt by the rest of the detainees. In discussing, among my fellows, the reactions to the experiences to which we were subjected, I found they were very similar to my own.

All of them realised that they had done active wrong more than once and that some form of punishment should be levelled at them, but in many, this was a matter of chance and an unfortunate occurrence, leaving them with the reasoning that if there was a chance of getting caught, as there obviously was, the next time they 'did a job' it would carry gain enough to outweigh the punishment. 'After this, I ain't gonna do another job for a while, but when I do . . .' I also met a few who could firmly state that this had taught them a lesson. Punishment was accepted by all the people I met there, but it was felt that much of what we were subjected to was unnecessarily ridiculous, and that several officers enjoyed inflicting it.

There was no real contact between the officers and the detainees; for that was because their function in a detention centre was to supervise a formal routine, rather than direct those who could be directed, in the relatively short time they were in the centre. They appeared to fall into two types, the majority merely doing their job, remaining disinterested and maintaining some friendliness, and the minority allowing personal feelings and what seemed to me to be childish spite to govern their decisions. It was, I think, inevitable that this would happen on occasions but I did see and feel the incredible hatred that can arise in a reasonably calm boy for the officers who made it their duty to be permanently unpleasant.

I do know what it is like to work all day in freezing weather, come in to a warm building with five minutes to wash the first layer of grime off, change, and march into a dining hall and, after grabbing the nearest tray of food, be given extra work for not remembering to thank the officer standing by the kitchen hotplate (he had nothing to do with the food, he was just there to be thanked).

Many of the complaints I heard were common throughout the centre. The prominent one concerned the lack of medical attention given to the

continual colds, coughs, influenza, and the more common sores and cuts which never healed. One unlucky fellow had an enormous swelling distending his cheek and reported sick to the medical officer who scrutinised him carefully and asked: 'What's wrong with you?' The boy pointed to his cheek. 'Well, what is it, come on I haven't got all day, you should know what the bloody thing is, you've got it, not me.' The boy got a mouthwash and two aspirins. Aspirin was the standard remedy for most complaints, even a sprained elbow.

One can easily recall a vast number of incidents which serve to indicate the heights to which the sense of ludicrousness and unwarranted 'disciplining' can rise. Now I have forgotten what it was like to shave with a ten-day-old razor blade in two minutes, and to frantically polish kit and fold it into utmost geometric regularity for the governor's inspections or in preparation for the 'grade' which one had to make on recommendation of five different officers concerned with work, cleanliness or PT and 'attitude before discharge'. I cannot remember the cold or the endless marching, neither am I able to recall the depressed moods in which most of my early letters were written; it is difficult to believe them when I read them now. I have been free for two weeks now.

Three months' detention was a shock. However all of us began to adapt very quickly to this, and it was no time at all before the shock became routine frustration. Any treatment of this kind is moderately successful in breaking habits and behaviour, but in replacing the offender in his environment, with no change in him or that environment, it seems to defeat what would be the real object (if old patterns are allowed to coalesce in the same way, as they will). The function of aftercare is to rebuild behaviour; there is an aftercare service following borstal and prison, but the attitude adopted in detention centre policy seems to dispense with this in the hope that the 'shock' will act as an effective deterrent. If the system is to continue in its present state, then aftercare would be the logical way to increase the 'success rate' (if one can agree with the somewhat arbitrary term as meaning no further offences committed). One is not taught at a detention centre, one cannot learn how to change in order to avoid going there again, except in experiencing the limits to which one's value structure can transgress that of established authority: value structure itself is not radically changed by this.

All that we discerned was the power behind the law and the prospect ahead of offending again, which is not a strong lesson to teach boys with the records and outlooks I noticed. We adapted rapidly to the centre despite its hardships; I discovered on discharge that I immediately readjusted to outside life as if I had never left it. If this happens with

everybody, and I think it does, I do not see how the treatment can be fully effective against those for whom it was designed. Moreover, I got the impression that everybody I saw there, wearing the same clothes and living in the same conditions as I was, did not need to spend half his life in a prison, and this feeling of wasted ability applied just as much to the young men who were labelled 'recidivist' as to the intelligent ones who may easily change, given the right stimulus. It appeared to me that most of them had trouble channelling their ability into a satisfactory occupation.

Corporal punishment

Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders

This section reproduces the findings of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders which in 1960 published the results of their inquiry into corporal punishment. After a close examination of relevant and available evidence they came out against judicially imposed whipping as an effective sanction for the offences for which it had previously been imposed. It is perhaps worth adding that no amount of research can hope to show beyond any shadow of doubt that any form of punishment, whether physical or not, does or does not act as a deterrent for people in general. Objections to birching are almost certainly based as much upon ethical principles as upon scientifically demonstrated evidence of ineffectiveness.

CONCLUSIONS

In view of the great conflict of opinion on this subject, it would have been surprising if, at the outset of our inquiry, some of us had not thought that the reintroduction of judicial corporal punishment might be justified as a means of checking the growing increase in crime generally and in offences of hooliganism in particular. That was, in fact, the case, but, having studied the views expressed to us and the available evidence, we consider that the findings of the Cadogan Committee are still valid, and have come unanimously to the conclusion that corporal punishment should not be reintroduced as a judicial penalty in respect of any categories of offences or of offenders.

Most of the arguments and considerations that have caused us to come to this conclusion are discussed in the earlier parts of this report. We think it may be convenient, however, if we summarise briefly here those that have carried most weight with us.

First, it is clear that there is a marked cleavage of opinion on the question whether or not judicial corporal punishment should be re-introduced, not only among ordinary members of the public but also among those who, because of their knowledge and experience, are better able to express informed opinions on this matter. There is also a marked divergence of view, both among those who are opposed to judicial corporal punishment and those who favour it, on particular aspects of the problem. There is, however, a measure of agreement that the reintroduction of this penalty would be a retrograde step, although we are not sure that it is generally realised quite how retrogressive it would be. Many people appear to think that before its abolition by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, corporal punishment was available for a wide variety of offences, and that as only twelve years have elapsed since that Act was passed it would be quite reasonable now to regard the abolition of judicial corporal punishment as having been an experiment and to decide that, the experiment having been a failure, the provision should be revoked. In fact, between 1861 and 1948 judicial corporal punishment was available for a narrowly limited range of offences, and for adults was in practice used only for offences of robbery with violence. The advocates of reintroduction, however, do not wish to limit this penalty to the same offences as before, but to make it available either for offences of all kinds or at any rate for all offences involving violence against the person — in particular those committed by young hooligans. If that were to be done it would mean putting the clock back not twelve years but a hundred years.

Second, the present demand for the reintroduction of judicial corporal punishment seems to be limited to this country. Other countries which have dispensed with it show no desire to reintroduce it, though many of them are faced with problems similar to those that exist here. The demand for it in this country is often the subject of adverse comment abroad, and its reintroduction would be certain to damage our reputation as the country which has been a pioneer in the use of enlightened methods of penal treatment.

Third, we consider that, in these circumstances, the reintroduction of judicial corporal punishment could be justified only if there was a reasonable assurance that it would substantially reduce crime and afford real protection to potential victims. We think that there cannot be any such assurance. There is no evidence that corporal punishment is an especially effective deterrent either to those who have received it or to others. We recognise that in a limited number of cases a sentence of corporal punishment would deter both the offender who received it and other potential offenders; but the same could be said of many forms of drastic and severe punishment which have long since been abolished as affronting the con-

science of a civilised community. We are not satisfied that the numbers likely to be deterred are sufficient to justify the reintroduction of a form of punishment that has the manifold disadvantages discussed elsewhere in this report.

Fourth, judicial corporal punishment is out of line with modern penal methods and would militate against the success of reformatory treatment, such as probation or borstal training.

Fifth, many of the new methods contemplated by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, have not yet been fully tried, and they are to be greatly developed in the immediate future. In particular, many more detention centres are to be made available. It is, therefore, too soon to conclude that these methods, and others that are to be introduced (such as those for dealing with young offenders that we recently recommended) are inadequate to deal with the problems which have led to the demand for the reintroduction of corporal punishment.

Finally, there are a number of practical objections and difficulties which strengthen the case against judicial corporal punishment. The most important of these objections is the delay that must occur between the commission of the offence and the infliction of the punishment. This would be particularly harmful to juvenile offenders.

We recognise that if our conclusion is accepted many people will feel that, unless alternative measures to check the continuing increase in crime are introduced, the present situation will become worse, and while we think that this may not be so grave as is generally supposed, we agree that there is cause for concern. It is no part of our task to suggest alternative measures, but we think it right to mention two that were brought to our attention by many of our witnesses and correspondents.

- (a) We were impressed by the argument that the greatest deterrent to crime is not the fear of punishment but the certainty of detection. This can only be achieved by the provision of a fully staffed and efficient police force in all areas. We feel sure that this consideration will be borne in mind by the Royal Commission on the Police in the course of their deliberations.
- (b) We have found a widespread feeling that the courts sometimes appear to deal surprisingly leniently with offenders convicted, often not for the first time, of offences of violence. We recognise that there are usually good reasons, not apparent to those who do not know the full circumstances of the case, for what may appear to be a lenient sentence. We have no doubt, however, that there are cases in which a severe and exemplary punishment is often salutary; and we consider that the existing powers of the courts are adequate to meet this need.

A list of the maximum penalties for certain offences is given in Appendix H [not reproduced here].

We hope that our own recent recommendations for the treatment of young offenders will be implemented before long, and that the various methods of treatment contemplated by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, will be fully developed. We are convinced that these methods are likely to prove more effective in the long run than negative methods such as corporal punishment.

A birching

Peter Dunn

The desirability of reintroducing judicially imposed corporal punishment for certain kinds of offences and for certain age groups is one that is under constant public discussion, in spite of the fact that in recent years no government seems inclined to give way to the arguments advanced by the 'flogging lobby'.

This newspaper report, based on an interview with a youthful Channel Islander who had recently been birched, is simple and direct and does not require any editorial comment.

The Law Office department on the Channel Island of Jersey is investigating allegations that the fifteen year old son of a wealthy businessman was sentenced by a magistrate and given twelve strokes of the birch without his parents' knowledge.

The boy was charged in St Helier last Monday with behaving in a manner likely to cause a breach of the peace and refusing to obey the orders of the police.

He was already on two years' probation for his part in stealing some crates of soft drinks and tipping them over a wall. Police said in court that he was found singing and jostling in a St Helier street at 1 am and that he was insolent to the officers who arrested him.

The boy has no record of violence; two older youths arrested with him for the same offence were fined £10: a third was bound over for twelve months.

As a result of this newspaper's inquiries on the island, the Law Office department is also looking into an allegation that during the birching the strapped-down boy got one of his feet free and in the struggle that

followed took the remaining strokes across his right hip and groin. Although a doctor was in attendance at the time the boy was not thought to need medical treatment.

Instead, he dressed himself and walked to his father's office in the town a quarter of a mile away.

I interviewed the boy last week in the presence of his parents and saw the result of the birch strokes. The boy's father said he proposed to take legal and medical advice about the matter, probably on the mainland which he visits this week.

I subsequently spoke to Mr Frank Moon, Governor of the island's prison where the birching was administered. 'The boy struggled rather a lot,' he said. 'He didn't get his foot completely free although he did have to be readjusted.' Was the punishment stopped during that time? 'Slowed down shall we say,' the Governor said.

Mr Moon agreed that the boy was not given medical treatment after the birching. 'The thing was done in the presence of the doctor,' he said.

The boy's parents knew nothing about either court appearance or birching until it was all over. The reason lies in the court procedure on the island, and in the peculiar functions of its police force.

There are about 100 uniformed full-time policemen on Jersey. But for all their Jaguars and modern equipment they are subordinate to the island's 250 honorary policemen who do not wear uniform. This force comes largely under the control of officers called Centeniers. When someone is arrested he or she is seen first by the local Centenier who can either deal with the offender on the spot or pass him on for a court appearance.

The four youths made a preliminary appearance at 1 am last Sunday before Centenier J. M. N. Richardson, a retired farmer who likes to use the title Captain. The youths, it seemed, were told that they would be appearing in court on the following day. But there were no formal summonses and the fifteen year old boy's parents said no court or police official contacted them about it. 'Everything's verbal on this island,' the father said. 'If I'd known he was going into court I'd have briefed a lawyer.'

In any event, the boy certainly gave his parents the impression that he was to make another appearance before the Centenier and not before the court.

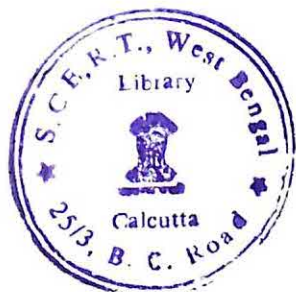
On Monday he found himself before the magistrate and was asked whether he would like to be legally represented or carry on with the case. He said (like the older boys) that he wanted the case dealt with at once. Although a probation officer was present at the time, the island's court procedure allows a fifteen year old boy to make decisions of this kind for himself.

The boy told me: 'After the sentence they put me inside for nearly an hour. I was in a cell by myself. I told a policeman I was getting twelve strokes and he said: "Lucky bloke, you're welcome to it." A bit later a policeman came and put a pair of handcuffs on me — just one of the cuffs, he held the other end. I was taken by van then down to the prison. They took off my handcuffs and measured my height and weight.

'A warden came along and said: "Follow me" and we went off to a big room with a wooden floor. In the middle of the room they had this instrument. They said: "Take off your boots," and I said: "Shall I take my shirt off now?" because I thought it was across the back. I did this and then someone said: "All right take your trousers down," and I said: "I'm very embarrassed."

'I could see little bits of twig on the floor. I hadn't the faintest clue what they were at first. The doctor examined me; then my feet were strapped down at one end of the instrument and I put my chest across the front end leaving the middle of my body without support. Someone held my head under his arm and his two hands were holding my hands near the floor. He'd got my head so I couldn't struggle or see who was beating me.

'Then they started counting: one . . . two . . . three, and I thought twelve was never going to come. It's just natural that you struggle and about the sixth or seventh I got one of my feet out of the strap and I must have fallen to one side. He got me three or four times on the side. It really did hurt. I kept on shouting: "Stop, stop." You don't even think of crying, it hurts so much. Afterwards I got out and stood up. A policeman had this bucket full of water. He put a towel in it and said: "Wipe yourself with this." I said: "No thanks." I had little bits of twig sticking in my hip and I pulled a couple of pieces out. Then I got dressed. As I was going out of the door someone said: "Don't let's see you back in here; you'll get twenty-four next time."



PART TWO

The re-educational approach

The ethos of probation

David Lowson

In this paper, specially written for this book, the author exemplifies the unique nature of the relationship between a probation officer and his probationer. He argues that it will be difficult for more generalised social workers to match the probation officer for firsthand knowledge of a specific locality or for his personal commitment to the social readjustment of the offender. In the one-to-one relationship the probation officer learned, partly from experience and partly from training, how to employ his own personality as the essential tool of a successful casework technique.

The 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, while it effected changes in the machinery for dealing with young people who offend, did not really transform the basic thinking of those responsible for their welfare and development. The Juvenile Court before 1969 did not use its powers to intimidate the children appearing before it nor did it seek to inflict severe punishments on them. Certainly children were charged with offences and legal procedures were observed, but then as now the real question for the court was what should be done for the youngster caught out in activities which were of the same order as adult criminality and which could conceivably lead on to that form of behaviour unless intelligently handled at this early stage. Police cautioning policies had often restricted the youngsters appearing before the court to those who had already been warned about their misconduct, so that those who appeared were already giving cause for concern. Most admitted their guilt and in so doing revealed a consciousness of the laws they had broken, even if they might not be clear on their motivation for their acts. The person who generally sought

to explain their behaviour to the magistrates, the probation officer, was also the person who subsequently attempted to make it understandable to the delinquent and his family, and it was he who, drawing on his theoretical knowledge of the sources of law-breaking behaviour and on his empirical skill of working almost wholly with offenders, sought to divert the youngster to alternative means of personal expression.

A main concern, however, of those who framed this Act, was the issue of the stigma associated with an appearance before a court of criminal jurisdiction, and although they retreated from the aim of abolishing the juvenile court in England and Wales, certain other changes were effected to lessen stigma. Thus the withholding from the police of the power to prosecute an under-fourteen year old for an offence (except for the most serious) may assist to establish the concept that there are no children who sin, only children sinned against, but judging by the policies of other nations which operate an administrative rather than a judicial treatment of juvenile nuisances, it may do little to alter practice; it is pretty much the same type of child who comes under supervision or is taken from home in Scotland, Denmark and Sweden, as had these experiences in our juvenile courts pre-1969. It is, of course, the policy in any of these countries who, by nature of their function of seeking the perpetrators of crime, arrest or detect the young people who behave in this way, and it may be their judgement of who may repeat offences which largely determines eventual policy with a given youngster. Nevertheless, if it were left to a completely neutral predictive formula no doubt the same type of youngster would be revealed as the one to require official attention, for it is not difficult to construct a profile of the juvenile most likely to break and continue to break the rules. While it could be claimed that an administrative form of screening, which singles out the awkward juvenile with a delinquent propensity, does not impose the stigma of a court appearance, it is difficult to regard this as any great gain; at least in a judicial process the actual finding of guilt and the operation of the 'tariff' principle seem better to serve the principles of justice when the end result involves removal from home, an action viewed by child and parents as a most drastic punishment. However, in England and Wales, children and young persons still appear before the juvenile court, and the only gesture to the 'no stigma' lobby has been the removal of the probation officer from any contact with the under-seventeens. (In the transition period, of course, the Act has continued to depend for its operation on the Probation Service; and there seems a preference on the part of many Local Authority social workers that this situation be extended for as long as possible.) The circumstance of the local authority social worker undertaking the whole range of social work tasks will lessen her identification with the courts and to this extent

reduce stigma; but when making social inquiry before a juvenile court appearance it is doubtful whether this fact will be appreciated by the family approached.

There is one attribute, however, which may impose a real handicap at this stage. Where the probation officer could call on a child's family before a court appearance and have his report regarded by them as an independent, impartial document, for the eyes of the magistrates only, and then only on an admission or finding of guilt, the social worker will not be in a position to assert this autonomy. Her report will be passed on to a supervisor, and later a representative of her Department will confer with the police on whether or not action should be taken through the court. Should it be decided that such action be taken the magistrates will know that consultation had taken place and that the very fact of a child's appearance before them implies an agreement between police and social workers that a particular action should be taken. The order they can make will be one which initiates supervision or one which temporarily removes parental rights. For the child whose offence seems unexceptional to the police officer and social worker who liaise over such matters, this is a satisfactory procedure and he and his parents will have cause to applaud the Act, but for the child who presents a delinquent profile, and his parents, the realisation that information given to the social worker will be discussed with the police *before* a court appearance will surely inhibit cooperation — they know how much they would voluntarily disclose to the police. The probation officer may be clearly associated with the courts but his is a distinctive function in that context, one acceptable to prosecution and defence alike, and while he may not have been a popular visitor when calling on a family in pursuit of a home inquiry report, his clearly defined role was not without reassurance.

In these days when influential theorists argue the harm done by labelling a person as deviant, it may be contended that such a complete association of probation officers with delinquency emphasises this element of identity in the child and the family visited, the more heavily imprinting the sense of being delinquent on a child's self-image. This is a reasonable argument and it may be that contact with someone who does her social work across the board, moving from the delinquent to the aged, the neglected, the homeless, the handicapped and so on, lessens reproach (though all social work may carry an implication of a deficiency which requires intervention). The other side of the coin is that it is less easy to decide what the social worker is after. The manifest expectation of the probation officer is that the youngster should cease his law-breaking, this is all he can demand, this is the limit of his intrusion. If, in the past, probation officers have been able to achieve much more of an involvement

with a delinquent and his family this was on a basis of personal eligibility not on the strength of a licence to busy themselves with the total family situation. To have a child who commits an offence is not the end of the world for lower-class families, it is a hazard lying in wait for all youngsters reared in poor, urban areas. Parents may hope it will not occur, may do what they can to prevent it but, if it does happen, they do not feel they should disown their child, nor do they believe that their performance as parents need stand condemned. If he has to appear before a juvenile court it may be less of an affront from their point of view that he appear for an act of law-breaking, an episodic event, than to have him described as being in need of care, protection or control, a continuing state of affairs. The 1969 Act prefers the latter definition; and this too would seem to be the basis for the 1970 Social Services Act.

The case made out in the Seebohm Report for an integrated social service department rested on the contention that the causes of deviance were to be found within the family, and it was this argument which enabled social work to discard its formerly problem-based, specialised services (of which probation is the only survivor among the statutory bodies) and to organise into single, administrative entities, served by all-purpose social workers, guided, where special knowledge is required, by supervisors familiar with particular areas of work. This is not the place to contest the Seebohm case, but it is proper to state that there is still no unified, internally consistent theory of social behaviour and its deviations on which social work can draw. In this situation where theoretical support is scanty and research data so limited, one of the merits of a specialised service is that its workers can develop empirical skills, achieving results through a sensitive combination of perceptive insights and confident use of personal qualities. In the case of our lower-class delinquent above, for instance, it would be generally agreed by workers in these areas that his behaviour could normally be better understood by reference to peer group norms and expectations than by speculation on family relationships, and that it would be by direct approach to the youngster and, if possible, his peers, that progress might be made.

Whether there will be a return to specialisation in field work is open to speculation, and it is probable that debate may range around this topic for some time ahead. In this matter of dealing with delinquents, however, there is a more immediate and more sharply defined argument. There is the firmly held opinion that the offender is a special type of deviant who can only be understood in his recurrent delinquent role through some attempt at personality analysis, which regards him as a self-directed, deliberately choosing individual responding to his primary groups and engaged in a particular form of interaction with the broader society. His

own primary groups — family and kin network, peer companions, close neighbours, workmates — he sees clearly and responds to strongly because he identifies with them; the rest of society seems something of a blur, as if seen through an out-of-focus lens, and he cares little about it though he is alert to certain of its functionaries who can markedly affect his situation, namely the authority carriers. Breaking the law is a voluntary act which the offender, though faced with alternative possibilities, continues to indulge in; and it would seem to have a special meaning for him for he will persist in it reckless of consequences. He is a problem not, in the first instance, to himself but to others. The more he surrenders to the delinquent impulse the more he enjoys its instant benefits, and he can construct rationalisations to justify his actions. There is a feedback to his delinquent acts. In the problem-solving sense, they work, they satisfy, and so are psychologically reinforced. Further he has the approval of his principal reference group, his immediate peers, a further reinforcement. As Thrasher in his book *The Gang* observed in the 1920s, a reminder of how long sound, pragmatic thinking has been with us, 'Fun, profit, glory and freedom, a combination hard to beat!'

The offender may be building up for himself the prospect of a hurtful social reaction, but he does not suffer from his deviance until the public is aroused and its protective social defence mechanisms set in motion. The public is acutely sensitive to crime especially the visible sort which most frightens people, and it wants to hurt offenders. It believes, probably rightly, that the individual must not benefit from his crime, must suffer a loss — and punishment more nearly restores the disturbed balance of justice, better vindicates the law, than most other treatments. Anyone working with offenders has this adverse public reaction to contend with, unlike the goodwill which can usually be solicited from those others who deviate in ways which contain their own hurt, such as unmarried motherhood, inability to keep a job, bungling of educational opportunities, neurosis, etc. This public hostility to offenders, this support for punishment, is a reality of the situation of which offenders need to be reminded, and of the reasons for it, for in the inward-looking groups of like-minded members of their subculture, they contrive to shut out the logic of public reaction. The greater indulgence offered to young offenders can quickly be squandered by repeated offending, and this can be the reaction of exasperated social workers as of ordinary citizens.

It may be asserted that almost all social work clients are casualties of our social system, even its criminals. But they respond aggressively to their deprivations, they take revenge for whatever they suffer. The pity is that they are so indiscriminate in their choice of victims, they give little thought to the consequences of their actions in either the short or long

term, largely because they can insulate themselves in special ways from those they injure, whom they regard as outsiders to their world, the out-of-focus people. Now, this is not a condition lodged deep in the unconscious which can only be reached by esoteric techniques; this is an expressive state of mind, revealing in the here-and-now a person's view of himself and the world about him, it presents his perspective on life. His actions and attitudes make sense to him however perverse and untenable they may seem to us; he learned them in making his adjustment to the life situation in which he grew up. His alienation is a state of mind, and even though he may have objective evidence of disadvantage and unfairness it is in no way sufficient to warrant a feud against society. This can be reasoned over and the gains and losses of given social roles considered in conversations in which the moral score of the offender alongside that of our type of society need not be so damning — so long as he does not continue to offend!

The point of this diversion is that work with offenders is better done when the individual is the focus of attention. Each of us is striving to construct a personal identity with which he can live; it is the misfortune of so many lower-class youngsters, who carry the delinquent profile, that they seem, all along, to have been exposed to social forces which attack their status and self-esteem. The readiness of the average offender to defy the law though conscious of the hazards he faces (among them the circumstance that the police seem programmed individually and as a force, to respond to his delinquent profile) reminds us of the pressures, from within to express his frustration and resentment, and from without to affirm his loyalty to his own set from whom, almost alone, he derives any sense of significance, acceptance and worth. Nevertheless anyone working with delinquents must seek to persuade them that crime is ultimately an untenable solution to life's problems, it shunts one's burdens on to someone else, while reducing the trust and cooperation on which social behaviour is based.

This sounds a high flown offering to teenagers and, of course, those who have dealt with delinquency-prone youngsters over the whole range of the 'teens adjusted the message to suit their charges. Younger children usually responded readily to the friendly, interested adult who offered simple illustration of the greater merit of good over bad, true over false, friendliness over hostility, for they had yet to realise how the odds were stacked against them. But with those who had started work and had discovered how stunted were their life chances, the case for a reconciliation with society could tax the wit of greatly experienced caseworkers. Certain factors aided the probation officer. Usually the offender had accepted the logic of being dealt with through the court for a breach of law, he had

asked for it, he knew the score. Probation was a known consequence, it was part of the rules of the game. It involved reporting to the probation officer, but the office was pretty easy to reach. He had heard something about the officer from his friends at school and in the street, even from people around the doors who had spoken to his parents and who seemed to know this official operating in their midst from having chatted to him in passing or occasionally having sought his advice on general matters. Equally he found the officer knew a lot about the area and its events and characters, and had a knack of starting off with the familiar and leading on to new ways of looking at things; he also knew various useful people who could be persuaded, it seemed, to offer opportunities in line with the possibilities he had been mentioning. Although the officer could talk of so many different matters, every now and again he would ask a lad to take stock of the company he was keeping and the things they did together, he would mention too that the court still expected its probationers to keep out of trouble. And trouble could start off as a lark, in fact there were so many tricks a group of youngsters could get up to which might end up with a policeman giving chase! Better not to take the risk — and the way he put it didn't sound chicken; and there were these other ways of having an interesting time which he would chat about which sounded all right. On the whole he wasn't a bad guy, rather better than so many other grown-ups. Indeed, one could get to liking him, he seemed interested in lads for their own sake, wanted them to feel that they mattered to him and should count to the same extent with others. No fool though; while he was always ready to listen he usually managed to be a step ahead, it wasn't so easy to spin him a tale.

This is certainly an oversimplified but surely not overstated illustration of how a youngster may have responded to his contact with a probation officer; there is immeasurably more to such interaction as even the process recording, the near-verbatim account of an interview, of any social-work student would reveal. This direct contact, of course, was always complemented by visits to the home and conversations with family members, even by gatherings of the boy's companions in the probation office.

Even though the association sprang from a decision of a court it has not been the experience of probation officers that this inhibited the responses of their youthful charges. It might not be the best send-off to a series of personal encounters, but juvenile offending seldom implies commitment to crime; more often it is clumsy experimenting in which mischief and liberty-taking are main ingredients, not the stuff that the youngsters or their parents lose sleep over. And they have appeared to accept the logic and the justice of a benign supervision while the repetition of such acts remains a distinct possibility, partly because they know it is so; it may be

that they in some way acknowledge the value of such a reminder of the boundaries to their conduct.

To be as effective as the probation service in dealing with children who offend, social-service departments may have to turn to the practices which probation officers evolved over the sixty odd years of their work in this field. It takes some time to become acquainted with the varied causes of delinquency, of social phenomena the one most painstakingly researched, and it takes even longer to learn ways of influencing youngsters caught up in it, so there seems a case for selecting officers who would give their whole time to the work. If they were to specialise they should be able to offer better service to the juvenile court, and their opinions would carry more weight with magistrates and with police. The dilemma of having to consult with the police before submitting a report to the court and the obstacle this presents to securing the cooperation of lower-class parents can perhaps only be solved by the police presenting the social control argument and the social worker a more child-centred case, leaving the magistrates to decide how to strike a balance.

The supervision of children in need of care, protection or control could be attempted through home visits alone, but delinquency is generally learned in the streets. It has been advanced earlier in this paper that the typical offender acquires a set of beliefs and attitudes which give him an altered perspective of his social surroundings, he sees people and situations differently because the conventional society does not offer him or his kind the chances that it gives to others. He has not learned to accept a commitment to the greater society because so far he has experienced mainly its rebuff and disparagement; it is only his immediate, familiar group of peers who give him any real sense of significance, who appear to understand him. Now, it is within his mind that these concepts exist, and it would be a recognition of his individuality to credit him with the ability to consider and choose between alternative interpretations of these circumstances, versions that the social worker would offer with the aim of reconciling the youngster by stages to the greater society. Probation has always operated to the maxim of 'advise, assist, befriend' and even when its official pundits were seeking to thrust esoteric and impersonal techniques upon it, the bedrock of its personnel held firmly to this belief in the power of friendship and personal involvement to effect changes in the behaviour of their probationers. Utilising this potent force of friendship is not a technique, it is an art. It is not a skill to be learned in a classroom for how does one learn to offer friendship without patronage, without superficiality, without feeling a fraud, except by personal involvement with one's fellows, however stigmatised, except in a commitment which requires the offer of love and trust and patience; but it would be a disservice to those

one would help, to ignore the vast amount of literature and research material which a century or more of the study of crime has assembled. There is need for this knowledge and that from related disciplines before one can achieve an honest and disinterested identification with the offender and before one can assist him to a different perspective on life; the effort to understand and appreciate the aberrant individual is the beginning of acceptance.

It never seemed a cramping of its powers that the probation service restricted itself mainly to diverting offenders from a repetition of their delinquent acts and it would seem no loss for supervision under the aegis of the local authority social service department to have a similar describable purpose, as a target for the social worker to aim at, to reassure the subject and his parents of the extent of the intrusion into family life, and to help the general public to realise what it is all about. It is better to get one's sights on a reasonable, attainable objective, such as discouraging a youngster from breaking the law, than to appear to be aiming at a reorganisation of family affairs for some well-intentioned but difficult to define purpose. At least one can measure progress with the former. The individual under supervision knows what is being asked of him, even if the preliminaries may involve turning from former friends and seeking new, trying out new interests and activities, resolving to adopt new attitudes at school or in work; in the final analysis it is a decision he must take, that he is going to turn back from the situation which he can see is leading him towards a further offence.

This restricted objective is no minor aim; probation officers could wish they had been more successful at it. And these days when delinquency is not only on the increase but is occurring among younger age groups, who offend more seriously and more persistently, it is probable that the public would settle very readily for a reduction of delinquency as a quite sufficient aim in itself. This is a highly specific need and it could well justify the establishment of a social service subdepartment with its selected officers concentrating on this one task. Initially motivated to deal with offenders and directly accountable for their progress, it would not be long before these social workers acquired the expertise to enable them to plan their casework with individual youngsters around an understanding of their responsiveness to the various events of their life situation, to adapt and revise preconceptions from moment to moment in the dynamic of personal interaction, and to make decisions in this or other context on their own responsibility, which is after all the essence of the professional function.

Probation and the social environment

Martin Davies

Martin Davies examines here the way in which the work of the probation officer is related to the social environment. Since much modern sociological research underlines the importance of the social environment in producing and sustaining delinquent behaviour, it seems reasonable to assume that a probation officer should focus his attention as much on the social setting in which the delinquency occurs as upon individual personality factors. As caseworkers, probation officers have in the past tended to be ambivalent about the social and environmental influences and their contribution to the proposed treatment. But this is unlikely to continue to be the case, especially as notions of the caring and responsible community gain ground. Dr Davies raises the many complicated issues involved in caseworkers coming to terms with social forces without at this stage offering easy or clearly established conclusions. His paper is in this sense seminal, part of an ongoing research effort by the Home Office Research Unit, and the issues he raises are, of course, as relevant to the treatment of juveniles and teenagers as of other age groups.

For much of the time probation officers are working at the point where criminology meets casework; indeed the *raison d'être* of their profession today might be said to be the conviction that casework has an important part to play in penal affairs.

The probation officer's responsibility to the courts not only involves him in the legal process of trial and sentence, but demands of him that he should know the results of such criminological and penal research as may be relevant in any particular case; for he is not only required to investigate on the court's behalf the social background and personality characteristics

of convicted criminals, but, according to the Morison Report (1962), 'if he is able to form a helpful opinion we conceive it to be his duty to express it'. It is true that, with reference to the Streatfeild Committee's proposal that officers 'should also offer opinions on offenders' suitability for other methods of treatment', Morison is rather more doubtful: 'probation officers are not now equipped by their experience, and research cannot yet equip them, to assume a general function of expressing opinions to the courts about the likely effect of sentences'. Nevertheless, as the boundaries of knowledge in criminology are extended there is little doubt that the probation service will be expected to avail itself of such facts as come to light and of such theories as are developed and confirmed.

However, as King (1958) has put it, 'the probation officer is a social worker by tradition, by occupation, and by training'. Certainly the origins of the probation service in Britain had a strongly humanitarian content, and its development in the twentieth century has been continually affected by changing ideas in social work. Although the simplest description of the probation officer's task has remained that which says that he shall 'advise, assist, and befriend' those under his care, there has also been an increasing emphasis on the casework approach. As Morison very neatly points out, the 1936 Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction 'could describe the supervisory functions of the probation officer without using this term'; whereas the 1962 Committee goes to some length to describe 'the essentials of modern casework', and even risks a definition: 'the creation and utilisation, for the benefit of an individual who needs help with personal problems, of a relationship between himself and a trained social worker'.

Though the probation officer cannot deny that his work falls within the realm of criminology, both his training and his everyday experience make him primarily a social worker. This is so, even in his court work: 'In pursuing social inquiries he (the probation officer) is contributing to the court's work by presenting the results of his social work investigation.' In both diagnosis and treatment, casework principles — varying no doubt according to the age, training and inclination of the officer — are applied in the effort to provide effective treatment within the community for those who have broken the country's laws, and who are deemed by the court to be in need of supervision. The aim of everyone concerned in the sentencing process is that the individual placed on probation shall not offend again, and the officer carries out his work with this ultimate purpose clearly in view: a great deal of probation treatment is theoretically intended as a contribution towards a situation in which the law will not be broken. Unfortunately, although all officers (and magistrates too) have their own ideas as to the kind of treatment necessary to effect this end, we

do not yet know in detail what kind of casework — or, for that matter, what kind of group work or community involvement — will positively help an offender never to break the law again, nor what kind of treatment (and there may well be some) will increase the chances of his doing so, nor even what casework approach might be irrelevant to the long-term aim in view.

Some officers may well say that they *do* know what particular forms of treatment to apply in specific cases; Parkinson (1965, 1966), for example, has published a number of articles describing the application of different types of treatment in varying circumstances, and Barr (1966) has reported that many probation officers do not think that group work ought to be used with seriously disturbed individuals. Moreover, in their training, caseworkers are taught to discuss case histories and to decide on the likely outcome of the application of contrasting forms of treatment. Later on, when they have taken up a post in social work, it may well be true that caseworkers learn how to deal with particular problems; it may also be true that such knowledge becomes virtually intuitive, and so can be applied with consummate skill; it may even be true that caseworkers — despite the common insistence that every case is unique — deal with so many people that they are able in their professional experience to see similarities in different cases, and so to develop something approaching a system of classification, albeit again intuitive. Nevertheless, if casework is truly developing a standardised body of knowledge about the treatment of specific cases, it is remarkable how little of this has found its way into print. Recently, in the United States, articles have begun to appear on particular aspects of treatment which suggest that we might be moving past the stage when journal articles and textbook chapters could be built around a single case history; but, in general, the student will look in vain for concrete evidence of the relevance, irrelevance or positive harmfulness of this or that type of treatment in any given situation.

All too often, social-work writers are compelled by the absence of research findings to fall back on generalisations which are of more value in theory than in practice.

The Morison Report, while discussing the importance of the casework relationship, says that the worker's 'purpose is more profound than any environmental alteration he can achieve'. This may well be so, although Wootton (1959) and others would doubtless demur; but such a statement must be open to discussion, and preferably to investigation. Is it true in all cases, or in only some? Is there any danger that the assertion of such a doctrine might blinker the caseworker in his investigation of the client's social environment? Is there any possibility that the caseworker in the field, once away from his textbooks and tutorials, may find himself unknowingly changing the emphases that he learnt in training?

Or again, from Monger (1964):

While there are, undoubtedly, only too many clients whose environmental problems are overwhelming and whose need for help is unassuageable, certainly there are also others who, if they do not have a practical problem will manage to manufacture one, thus keeping the officer so fully occupied that he has always to remain at arms length, as far as the discussion of personal attitudes and problems is concerned.

A fascinating distinction is thus drawn between two types of client with environmental problems; most probation officers (and other social workers, too) might well accept it as being an approximation to the truth as they have experienced it, and Monger is by no means unjustified in making his point, provided it is recognised that objective evidence on this is almost wholly lacking. The outside observer is compelled to ask, for example, whether we can be really sure that the distinction between the two groups of 'environmental problem' clients is clearcut. How do we know that those with environmental problems did not in some way 'manufacture' them *before* the social worker came on the scene? Is there a possibility that those who 'manufacture' problems to keep the officer 'at arms length' may also be those with the worst environmental problems in the first place? Is the 'manufacturing', in any case, deliberate at a conscious level, or is it an unconscious defence mechanism? Is there any chance that the probation officer himself might accuse the client of 'manufacturing' problems because of limitations in his own personality or training which prevent him from coping adequately with the difficulties presented by the client?

There is no doubt that any competent caseworker could suggest answers to all of these questions, but they would be answers based on the worker's own remembered experience. The memory might be accurate or it might be inaccurate. What is so conspicuously absent from the casework scene at the present time is a body of recorded detail on questions such as these. If, for example, there were available brief descriptions of a hundred cases in which a client had 'manufactured' practical problems, our knowledge of the situation — which is undeniably a tricky one for caseworkers — would immediately become more reliable than is possible at the present time. We could then begin to understand whether the phenomenon was as Monger described it, or whether it was simpler or more complex than he suggested. Above all, we might be able to see the process in relation to the client-worker relationship, and to examine ways in which it might be tackled.

What is so clearly needed is an extension of our recorded knowledge in casework, so that the hypotheses — for that surely is how we must regard them — put forward in the literature might be tested systematically, and so

be rejected, amended or confirmed. In the meantime caseworkers must continue to rely on their textbook theory, tempered by their own continuing experience, and by such findings as are relevant from the developing social sciences.

CRIMINOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The development of modern criminology owes a good deal to the work of scholars with a sociological orientation, and different parts of the social environment have frequently been studied for their association with crime: the neighbourhood, family background, social class, employment, the gang and peer-group affiliations, the overall social climate. Most textbooks devote a good deal of space to a review of the literature in this field, and in particular two recent books published in Britain have discussed comprehensively the concept of the social environment in criminology.

There is, among criminologists, a general recognition that the social setting is a contributory factor in criminal behaviour, but that it is by no means the only one; there is disagreement about how much weight to attach to the respective areas of influence. Mannheim (1965) writes of 'our growing awareness of the preponderance of psychological over purely structural, i.e. external, factors', while Jones (1956) can still mention critically sociologists like Sutherland 'who write as if almost all crime could be attributed to social as against personal factors'. Axelrad (1965) argues that 'any complete casual explanation must contain elements from the two fields (psychology and sociology) if the occurrence of the phenomenon as well as variations in the *rates* of the occurrence are to be understood.' Speaking more specifically, he goes on:

It may very well be that the same unconscious conflict may result in different types of deviant behaviour, or in conforming, retreatist or rebellious behaviour, depending upon the way in which the social structure permits the channelling of the conflict. But we shall not know the answers unless psychic factors are tested against social and cultural variables.

The Gluecks (1950) argue that 'it is *differential contamination*, rather than differential association, that is at the core of the etiologic process; and contamination depends not merely on exposure but also on susceptibility as opposed to immunity.' In *Family Environment and Delinquency* (1962) they look closely at the interaction of personal factors (in terms of both psychology and biology) and the social setting, and they conclude

that 'certain socio-cultural circumstances operate as catalytic agents in the delinquency of children possessing certain character traits'.

CASEWORK AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

If criminology has been bold and all-embracing in its analysis of environmental factors, casework has been always more hesitant and sometimes frankly ambivalent towards them. In the nineteenth century, of course, there were innumerable writers willing to blame the material conditions for all manner of personal problems; but this point of view found its chief expression at the level of political campaigning. Among those credited with the origins of casework, there were frequent doubts as to the wisdom of undue interference with the social order of things. Octavia Hill, for example, and Charles Loch both bitterly opposed Charles Booth's campaign for the introduction of old-age pensions because of the harmful effect they might have on the character of the poor. In Loch's opinion, the 'social habits' of people were the real cause of poverty, while Miss Hill wrote to a friend of hers in 1890: 'I know in my heart of hearts what I think: and *that* is that it all depends on the spiritual and personal power.'

Octavia Hill's emphasis on the importance of the individual was a powerful influence on the early American caseworkers. Mary Richmond, however, in her *Social Diagnosis* (1917) presented the case for broadly based inquiries in social work which would take into account both the individual and his environment: 'The mind of man', she said, '(and in a very real sense the mind *is* the man) can be described as the sum of his social relationships.' Thus 'in *Social Diagnosis* attention is focused, not upon the individual as such, but upon the individual in relation to his social setting'.

For a short while, the work of Mary Richmond enjoyed great popularity, and indeed her stress on the need for accurate diagnosis before treatment was never again questioned. On the other hand, her emphasis on the importance of seeing the individual in his social setting was, if not lost, at least over-shadowed in the early 1920s by the immense influence to be exerted by analytically orientated caseworkers. Virginia Robinson (1930) was a prime exponent of the Freudian approach, and accused Richmond of merely 'describing' problems when she should have been attempting to explain their existence. Since then client-centred casework theory has developed rapidly, and few could deny the value to the social worker of many of its techniques, especially those concerned with the creation of a client-worker relationship, and with the acceptance by the worker of attitudes and behaviour which in many normal circumstances would be

automatically rejected. The growth of professional casework owes a good deal to the recognition of the importance of unconscious factors in human life, and to the apparent value of *talking through* problems which might otherwise have seemed insoluble.

In spite of the apparent rejection of the Richmond approach, however, and in spite of the continuing emphasis on the individual client, caseworkers in practice have never entirely turned their backs on the client's environment; indeed it would have been impossible for them to do so, for the problems which clients bring (or for which they are brought) to their caseworkers almost always involve other people — parents or children, husbands or wives, landlords or employers. Moreover, even where the Freudian influence has been greatest, there have always been dissenting voices. As Monger points out, 'working with a view to ameliorating the environment for the benefit of the client, rather than with the client himself, is indeed an approach to social work which held sway for a number of years, and which still has its advocates in most services today'.

In the last decade the concept of the social environment has reemerged not in conflict with analytical casework but as an essential adjunct to it. In 1961 Goldberg suggested that 'having by now securely incorporated into the theory and practice of social casework the basic tenets of dynamic psychology, we might usefully rediscover the social environment in which our clients move, not as a static framework but as a dynamic process continually interacting with inner personal forces'. This development probably stems as much from the recognition by caseworkers of the need to incorporate into their theory environmental factors as it does from the growing interest of sociologists in social work. Leonard (1962) goes so far as to suggest that 'casework practice has deepened awareness of the need to consider the client not in isolation, but in the context of all his relationships with his family and with the outside world', while Monger warns against the probation officer's occupational hazard of being tempted to deal with the offender in isolation, because of the court's concentration on the individual and because of the traditional reliance on office interviews for the casework process: 'It is only when it becomes clear how distorted a view is sometimes obtained of an individual seen only in isolation and treated thus, that the complementary significance of all the areas of the life of the person concerned, in family, school, work, leisure, becomes plain.'

In Britain the recent work of Noel Timms (1964) has done as much as that of anyone to put casework into its social context. Not only does he believe that the relationship between the person and his society is perhaps the most important aspect for the social worker, but more important, he has emphasised the significance of the client's role relationships:

The problems which people bring to the caseworker can very often be classified in terms of a breakdown in one or more significant roles and the caseworker will endeavour to find the reasons for such a failure, whether it is due to a role conflict that has been recently accentuated, to a failure in role definition between the participants, to a lack of resources necessary for playing the role, or to the fact that the person has had no opportunity to learn the role.

The possible reasons that Timms mentions for the client's breakdown in his role-playing are, it will be noted, not limited to a single type of factor: it could have been caused by situational stresses, by limitations in the personality or by psychiatric disorder, or even by the fact that his role-playing was effectively hampered by his cultural background.

In the United States Hollis (1964) has written the most complete account of casework as a psychosocial therapy. She argues that casework has, in fact, 'always' been this, and says that 'central to casework is the notion of the person-in-his-situation'. Like Timms, she sees the 'situation' largely in terms of the role network involving all the people with whom the client normally interacts. Hollis recognises that, since Mary Richmond's time, we have tended to downgrade environmental treatment 'as though it were something one learned to do with one's left hand, something unworthy of serious analysis'. She points out that a great deal of environmental work involves very similar techniques to personal casework, for more often than not it requires contact with the people who make up the client's environment: teachers, landlords, nurses, etc.

At the diagnostic level, in particular, the external situation is crucial, because it is impossible properly to evaluate the personality except as it is seen in the context of the situation by which the person is confronted or, to put it another way, of which he is a part'. In treatment, too, although 'when the problem is one of interpersonal adjustment, the major undertaking is some form of change within the person seeking help . . . environmental factors may, nevertheless, be contributing to the problem, or else may offer avenues for alleviating its severity'.

By concentrating on one particular aspect of casework — the social environment — there is a risk that, by implication, *undue* emphasis might be attached to it in relation to other aspects of the same field. Even though it is suggested that in the past the subject has received insufficient attention from some casework theorists; it would indeed be regrettable if we were now to go to the other extreme, and to turn our back on what has been learnt about the development of the personality, and its effect on human behaviour. There is, however, little danger of caseworkers attaching *too* much importance to the social environment, partly because of the

continuing strength of the analytically orientated casework theorists, but also because treatment of the individual — difficult though it may be — is almost certainly more practicable in present circumstances than extensive involvement in the community.

Indeed, when one examines the consensus of opinion among those casework writers who lay emphasis on the client-in-his-situation, it is clear that, although they insist that the environment is of equal importance with the personality so far as diagnosis is concerned, when it comes to treatment the worker 'works primarily with the individual, but also enters into the environment when such intervention is in the client's best interest'. Monger echoes this appraisal in relation to probation: 'the commonest approach is that of working with the individual client as the centre of the casework, but at the same time regarding the environment as of great importance'.

In diagnosis the main implication of this has been long recognised by the probation service: that a detailed social inquiry is a necessary prerequisite to the making of a probation order. The general acceptance by the courts of this procedure as a desirable step before sentence was confirmed by the Streatfeild Report in 1961; the importance of taking into account the social environment is there stated unequivocally, and a detailed list of headings for coverage is given:

In most cases it [the social inquiry report] should include among other things, essential details of the offender's home surroundings and family background; his attitude to his family and their response to him; his school and work record and spare time activities; his attitude to his employment; his attitude to his present offence; his attitude and response to previous forms of treatment following any previous convictions; detailed histories about relevant physical and mental conditions; an assessment of personality and character.

Probation officers have been writing reports along these lines for many years, and although they were intended primarily for the use of magistrates, the work involved in their preparation plays a vital part in the caseworker's assessment of treatment needs. It is at this point that two difficult questions arise.

First, the probation officer, having made a broad survey of his client's social and personal situation, has to decide which problem areas of it are relevant to the task in hand; this is not nearly so clearcut as at first sight may appear. Is the probation officer's concern simply and solely to prevent the offender from misbehaving again, to give the offender 'the best chance to reform'? In theory this is almost certainly so, but in practice probation officers cannot at present be certain that the work they do, the

emphases they use, the techniques they employ are always those most guaranteed to prevent reconviction. Moreover their social work training gives them a broader outlook, and many would say that their aim was not merely to prevent the commission of further offences, but, more constructively perhaps, to enable him to function better in society. This conflict is referred to by Monger:

In much of the work of probation officers the client is referred not necessarily because he feels he has a problem but because society feels he is one; from this arises the question, how to deal with unrecognised problems? . . . or, how far does the statutory caseworker go with problems recognised as such by the individual but not by the state?

The probationer may well be under supervision for two or three years without committing any further offence; before many months have passed, the memory of his court appearance may have receded into the background, and the casework relationship be governed not so much by his criminal conviction as by the difficulties that continue to exist or newly arise in his here-and-now situation. It is true that at times the probation officer may encourage the client to discuss incidents or feelings from the past, but the present will also give rise to personal problems, and as Monger points out it is these which emerge most clearly: 'difficulties relating to feelings about people — about parents, children, husbands, wives, society, above all, self'. Inevitably then it seems that the focus for the probation officer may become somewhat diffuse, with the emphasis determined partly by his own training, experience, and preconceptions, partly by the life situation of the client, and partly by the setting in which he works. It may well be that in this way, the probation officer obtains the best results; certainly at the present time no one can offer any positive judgement that this is either so or not so. Neither criminology, nor psychiatry, nor casework itself have yet produced incontrovertible findings which enable the probation officer to know what emphasis to place on the client's personality or environment in this particular instance or that particular case. In the meantime we are left with such general statements as this: 'A very large part of the time it is possible for the client to bring about environmental changes himself, and direct work with the client to this end is the preferred form of treatment.'

In brief, the probation officer is left to make his own assessment of the client's problems and to work with them in the hope and expectation that their relief will make reconviction less likely. At present he can get little help in deciding which problems deserve most priority if reconviction is to be avoided.

The second treatment question that arises out of the officer's social

inquiry report is not concerned with priorities but with techniques. In so far as environmental problems are seen to exist, and given that they are deemed to be relevant to the aim of probation, how clear are we about the way in which they must be tackled? Throughout casework literature there is a broad consensus stemming from the belief in the client's 'right to self-determination'. This doctrine, which is fundamental to much modern casework theory, has something of a mixed parentage: it can certainly be traced back to the *laissez-faire* insistence on the right of any individual to refuse help; it received its major impetus with the Freudian assertion of the individual's role in shaping his own interaction with the environment; and it has received continual reinforcement from the bitter experience of social workers who have sought to intervene in a client's environment only to find their well-intentioned efforts frustrated by the opposition of those they sought to help. So far as it is possible for him to do so, it is insisted, the client must be encouraged to set about the solution of his problem on his own: 'the caseworker's aim will be to encourage people to help themselves rather than be helped: to cooperate rather than obey'. This theme recurs time and again throughout casework literature. Only when it is clearly essential to intervene in the environment will the caseworker do so, and even then, the client must remain the focus of the worker's approach, with the overall objective being 'to increase the client's ability to handle his own affairs'.

But what kinds of social intervention are of value? In which cases are they most likely to succeed? Given that the caseworker is severely limited in resources — time, energy, money, facilities — how can they be put to the best use in environmental treatment? Hollis mentions the basic needs for food, clothing, housing and medical care; 'intervention in the environment is also sometimes necessary to remove or lessen situational pressures that are causing strain for the client'; but detailed studies of environmental treatment, or of the part played by the environment in casework, are virtually nonexistent. Hollis herself comments on the fact that articles are rarely written on the subject, but points out that 'good examples of the treatment procedures involved are often embedded in discussions of the total treatment of individuals who need casework help with problems that either involve unusual environmental pressures or deprivation, or require special adaptation from the environment for their amelioration'. Very little attention in probation casework has been given to this aspect of the subject, although Sinclair has prepared a report on the use made of probation hostels by officers, in which he discusses the extent to which environmental pressures lead to a boy being sent to such a hostel.

With treatment techniques as with priorities, the probation officer is left to make his decision about the social environment unaided by research,

and unadvised — except in the most general terms — by casework theorists.

We have seen that some writers, at least, in the field of casework see the social environment as an important factor — particularly in diagnosis, and to a lesser extent in treatment; and it has been suggested that, generally in social work and more specifically in probation, our knowledge of environmental factors is limited and impressionistic. It is true that individual social workers are well aware of the significance of situational stresses in the lives of their clients, but this makes it all the more imperative to study their incidence systematically and to assess their relevance for treatment and outcome. A number of topics call for investigation.

First, at the very least, it is necessary to discover those parts of the environment which are most likely to present difficulties for the probationer and those parts which are most likely to be associated with high reconviction rates. Environmental problems may vary at different points in the life-cycle, but if we can isolate those areas which cause the greatest difficulty, then some scope will exist for the setting-up of experimental treatment programmes aimed at tackling environmental problems; it might be possible, for example, to compare the relative effectiveness of a traditional casework approach (working through and with the individual to reach the environment) with schemes for more direct intervention in the environment by the social worker.

Second, there is the question of the relationship between the probationer's personality and his environmental circumstances. Attempts should be made to identify probationers whose difficulties are largely personal, and to distinguish them from those whose problems stem from the situation in which they live; similarly, an investigation is required to determine the extent to which personality problems and environmental difficulties are interwoven.

Third, there is the important casework emphasis on the worker's use of his client's *strengths*: the way in which the caseworker identifies the positive elements in the probationer's life and uses them to the fullest advantage. If these strengths are environmental (as they sometimes are), which parts of the environment are of greatest value, and how can they best be utilised? To what extent should the probation officer become involved in the probationer's environment in order to increase its value? What role should the environment play in casework treatment?

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Enforcement in probation casework

A. W. Hunt

Dr Hunt's paper raises the thorny topic of authority in probation casework, an element that has sometimes been thought to be a weakness in probation work. The author argues, however, that authority can be positively useful when dealing with offenders, and suggests that the idea of enforcement is not necessarily antipathetic to sound casework practice.

Developments in social casework practice and training have been exceptionally pronounced in the last two decades, and of overriding importance in these developments has been the provision, mostly during professional training, of a rationale for casework practice. Emphasis has tended towards the insight-giving processes, acknowledgement of the individual's right to self-determination, and to the importance of a non-directive and accepting approach by the caseworker. Much contemporary literature and general teaching reflect experience in casework where need is overt or openly acknowledged by the subject, and in consequence a dilemma is presented to probation officers and others employed in the correctional field who are called upon to reconcile the concepts of generic casework teaching with the fact that they work in a clearly authoritarian setting in which many of their professional relationships contain the element of enforcement. The nature and implication of the dilemma are underlined in two recent contributions to our thinking on this subject made by Clare Winnicott (1962) in her article on 'Casework and agency function' and Alan Robertson (1961), Governor of Hewell Grange Borstal Institution, in his paper on 'Casework in Borstal'. Mrs Winnicott observes that:

When a child or an adult commits an offence of a certain degree and kind, he brings into action the machinery of the law. The probation

officer who is then asked to do casework with the client feels he ought to apply techniques implying the casework principle of self-determination, but he loses everything if he forgets his relationship to his agency and the court, since symptoms of this kind of illness are unconsciously designed to bring authority into the picture. The probation officer can humanise the machinery of the law but he cannot sidestep it without missing the whole point of the symptom and the needs of the client.

Alan Robertson also refers to the conflicting demands of the institutional setting, seen as a microcosm of society, and the needs of the boy. Attention is drawn to the desirability of maximum flexibility and adaptation to individual needs within the framework, but Mr Robertson concludes that 'to be casual or inconsistent about it or to take undue liberties with the framework would be unhelpful. Such inconsistency can only confuse the boy, may cause him to have some doubts about our general integrity and we may forfeit his respect'.

Denial of the reality of the probation situation is often aided by the superficial fact that the probationer acknowledges need by virtue of the voluntary acceptance of a period of supervision, but there are few who would fail to recognise the naivety of a suggestion that such an undertaking in itself implies recognition of need in any form. Moreover, there appears little doubt that, if the probation officer attempts to approach the probationer without careful reference to the fact that in many instances cooperation may be grudgingly given, he may not only fail to develop an approach which can honestly reconcile the fundamentals of casework with the approach necessary in many correctional settings, but he will also find his capacity to help a number of deprived and maladapted people seriously impaired.

A relationship which is enforced by the full sanction of the law is clearly open to abuse and it is recognised that the insights developed in relation to the motivation of the practitioner have been invaluable in pointing to the dangers of dominating and pontifical control. However, a cause for increasing concern over the years has been the frequency with which the probation officer's special position in relation to his probationers and others under supervision has been described in relatively negative terms. Experience shows that the negative aspects of enforcement have been referred to much more frequently than the positive elements, and many occasions have arisen when, because of uneasiness about the coercive factor in their relationships, probation officers have tried to deny the facts of the situation and have exaggerated the positive quality of their relationships to a highly unrealistic degree. It would seem that one of the most important reasons for such a situation rests on the fact that so much

of our dynamic casework practice is based on psychotherapeutic techniques developed within clinical settings where voluntary cooperation is assured and where such cooperation is deemed to be indispensable. Probation officers share with others the common experience of cases where a seriously disturbed person is considered unsuitable for treatment merely because he is not prepared to undertake treatment of his own volition or because of aggressive elements in the personality which conflict with special institutional or agency requirements. The basis of case selection of this type can be understood, but it is of very little assistance to the probation officer, many of whose cases would fall into such a category, and it would be a very great pity indeed if he concluded from such experience that lack of initial cooperation eliminated therapeutic opportunity or that maturation could not be encouraged.

With such problems as emotional disorder, personality defect or severe neurosis the relevance of the psychotherapeutic approach may be perceived. To see the relevance of such an approach is not easy when one deals with the many underachieved, egocentric and extroverted delinquents where the primary problem appears to be one of defective character development, or encounters professionally the range of spontaneous antisocial behaviour normally apparent in the growing child who has clearly not developed a pattern of delinquent behaviour.

The concept of delinquency as a neurotic manifestation has received considerable attention in recent years, but it does seem that this attention is disproportionate when a broad view is taken of criminality and antisocial behaviour as a whole. Personal experience of a wide range of delinquents suggests that much antisocial behaviour arises from the failure of a socialisation process and that the compulsive, neurotic, affectionless or seriously unbalanced person is in the minority. Moreover, recognisable in much relatively casual delinquency is the presence of poorly sublimated aggression in which the failure of primary or social institutions of control is in evidence.

This reference to the aggressive element in behaviour is made, not from a limited definition, but from a wider and more fundamental view of the aggressive impulse in man as advanced by Anthony Storr (1962) in his article on the 'Psychology of aggression'. For example, Dr Storr states that:

The aggressive impulse in man has a positive function which is vital to the independent life of the individual: and I hope I have also shown that aggression is a primary dynamic factor which cannot be eradicated. This is not to deny man's cruelty and hostility, but to point out that such behaviour is a distortion and a misdirection of independence, maturity and freedom. By far the majority of the human race is neither inde-

pendent, nor mature, nor free: and therefore much human aggression is in the form of that destructive hostility which is associated with immaturity, insanity and restriction.

Such positive examination of a fundamental fact of the human psyche is helpful to probation officers not only because recognition of the creative potential of aggressive and assertive behaviour enables appropriate relationships to be formed, but also because it can point to the need for management features in treatment as distinct from the more sophisticated verbal processes. In much recent literature concern with this and related themes may be identified and a fragmental view of opinion is most revealing.

The first paper to which reference is made is that of Dr Essex-Cater's (1961) report on his investigations during five years' experience in a remand home and in particular his observations on the mental health of the inmates. Dr Essex-Cater states that assessments of emotional reactions revealed 8 per cent who suffered severe emotional disturbance and were in need of active long-term psychiatric treatment, 42 per cent gave evidence of emotional disturbance requiring expert advice and in some cases short-term treatment, and 50 per cent of the boys were judged to be stable persons. What is of interest in these evaluations is that in the assessment of stability reference was not made to delinquency as a manifestation of emotional disturbance, and it is acknowledged that separate criteria would have to be applied.

The second opinion of interest has been that contained in Melitta Schmideberg's address in June 1961, to the Third World Congress of Psychiatry in Montreal. Melitta Schmideberg was talking about the picture of New York's juvenile crime, and is reported as having described law enforcement and clinical treatment as 'blatant failures' and acknowledged that many serious juvenile criminals often came from apparently good homes. She was mainly concerned with the social causes of crime and indicted such factors as the prevailing over-permissive, child-centred upbringing which stressed needs rather than duties, lack of education and standards, sensationalism and sentimentalisation of the sick offender, and recent belief in firm standards of right and wrong as outmoded and reactionary. Her criticism of law enforcement and social services appeared to be specific to the American scene but she concluded that the 'permissive and non-punitive approach to the delinquent may have serious ill-effects'.

Thirdly, attention is drawn to Reiner and Kaufman's (1961) publication, *Character Disorders in Parents of Delinquents*. The authors refer to the treatment of such people by stating that their central aim is not to resolve unconscious conflicts but to further the maturation process. Such an aim is necessary because of 'primitive ego structure and because of the

inability of such people to tolerate anxiety involved in self-examination. The analysis of their problems results either in flight or increased acting-out'.

It is significant that a person like Melitta Schmideberg (1961), with her psychoanalytic experience and orientation, talks so extensively about the social causation of crime and that Reiner and Kaufman talk about the therapist and client engaging 'not only in a process of unlearning faulty reaction patterns but also in a process of diversification and creation in social development'. My own reaction to such a proposition is that to be effective with many delinquents such treatment must occur in a relationship which is at least partially enforced. Before this view is expanded reference must be made to the contribution to the understanding of this problem made by D. W. Winnicott (1958) in his paper on 'The antisocial tendency'. Dr Winnicott discusses the antisocial tendency rather than delinquency because the secondary social reactions in the latter made investigation difficult and because the tendency is apparent in the normal child when related to inherent developmental difficulties. The antisocial tendency is seen as being characterised by 'an element which compels the environment to be important', and Dr Winnicott says that it 'implies hope' and that 'management' is the appropriate treatment. When referring to typical trends of stealing and destructiveness in the antisocial tendency, he says of the second that 'the child is seeking the amount of environmental stability which will stand the strain of impulsive behaviour' and logically proposes that the 'nuisance value of the antisocial child is essential' and 'at best a favourable feature'.

The interpretation of the antisocial tendency is based on infantile phantasy need for control of aggressive impulses, and this is implicit in Dr Winnicott's observations on treatment:

The treatment of the antisocial tendency is not psychoanalysis. It is the provision of child care which can be rediscovered by the child, and into which the child can experiment again with the id impulses, and which can be tested. It is the stability of the new environmental provisions which gives the therapeutics.

Unfortunately shortage of space does not allow discussion in greater detail of the implications of the preceding concepts, but there is little doubt that these concepts are indispensable to those working in the field of enforcement, and that they provide a theoretical link between dynamic psychology and the correctional field.

A rational development of a social or individual therapeutic approach in conditions of full enforcement has not yet matured, but there is convincing evidence to show that, contrary to the opinion of some clinicians,

probationers and other offenders can make some adjustment even when compelled to relate to authority. In support of this view it is held that the most important and influential relationships in any person's life are those which are, in their very nature, enforced. A child is born into a family whether he or she likes it or not, and with very few exceptions there are no opportunities for the child to evade the necessity to make some adaptation to the demands made by the parents, and vice versa. Similarly in school, adjustment between child and teacher is necessary, even although in the first instance adjustment is unwillingly made. The elements of this process were graphically revealed in an incident in my recent experience. A boy aged eleven was asked by his probation officer what he felt about school. After some deliberation he replied: 'Oh, it's all right, but I 'ates it!' Anthony Storr is extremely interesting on this point and in *The Integrity of the Personality* (1970) he has this to say:

In a regime in which rebellion is impossible since everything is tolerated, there is less scope for individual development than in one in which teachers as well as pupils have their rights. Loving a child does not mean always giving in to it, but does imply accepting the fact that rebelliousness and opposition are a necessary and valuable part of growing-up. Children need to fight with their parents, and for the parents to refuse ever to fight back is to treat the child as less than a person and to fail to maintain a relationship with it. One way, therefore, in which the child's aggressive feelings may become dissociated and partially denied is for it to be faced with a parent who always gives in: another is for it to confront a parent who never does so.

In everyday life opportunities for withdrawal from trying situations are limited, and it seems that it is because of this fact that we develop our capacity to tolerate demands which ordinary living places upon us. For the majority of people with relatively normal personality and character development, marriage imposes similar disciplines; quarrels between husband and wife tend to resolve themselves much more rapidly because of the fact that opportunity to flee from an emotionally disturbing situation is not available, and because the fact of simple, urgent, sexual drive will force a compromise in order that straightforward satisfactions may be achieved. Such adaptations are frequently made and often fail to occur in an atmosphere of quiet acceptance or forgiveness. Indeed, it would seem that in the developmental pattern of human beings concern is often expressed in vigorous and active terms and often in the guise of punishment. I would personally regard this as very important, because within our present sphere of practice the possibilities of active and positively expressed concern do not receive very much attention. Two recent examples

taken from personal experience illustrate this particular point. A little girl, who is now aged six, was recently taken on a visit to some friends. During the course of this visit there was some discussion amongst the adults about children who had recently visited the house and who had created very considerable difficulty as a result of completely undisciplined and riotous behaviour. By all accounts no attempt had been made by the parents to control or guide the children in this situation. On returning home the girl asked why it was that the friend had been so critical of these children and why she had not liked them. She was told that this was probably because they had made such a nuisance of themselves and made life difficult for everyone else in the house. Her immediate reply to this information was 'Well why didn't their mummy and daddy get cross with them?'

The second example is the following letter from an eighteen-year-old Borstal boy to a probation officer known to him before committal:

I am writing this letter to thank you for helping me out in court. I am sorry I have not written before, as I could not remember your name. I am hoping that when I come out of here that I will be under your supervision. I'm sorry if I seemed to be rude to you when we were outside of the court, but as you may have already known, no one could hardly expect me to be happy about going to court.

Well, I am a grade two now and the board is tomorrow and I am hoping to get my threes with a bit of luck. If I do get them tomorrow I expect I shall be having my home leave somewhere around January, which means that I will have to report to you or whoever is going to be my probation officer.

Please tell Mr S if you see him that I'm sorry I let him down so much because I always did like him visiting my mother's house. And those little talks we had used to knock a bit of sense into me. Really what I needed when I was little was a good hiding but I always knew I would not get one, but this is just as good as one although it has taken me a long time to bring me to my senses.

In neither of these cases does there appear to be a masochistic behaviour pattern.

Such examples are far from uncommon in work with delinquents, and from such incidents it may be concluded that lack of criticism or annoyance may be interpreted by the emotionally deprived as indicating a lack of basic concern and by the delinquent with weak ego as emasculated control. It is of significance that on many occasions an entirely unexpected response is encountered in a probationer or client who has become involved in further trouble. In spite of the fact that the probation officer does not feel resentful or annoyed, letters are received showing

quite clearly that it is assumed that he will experience such feelings, and that such feelings will arise from basic feelings of regard and concern for the probationer. Again, in matrimonial conciliation, which is generally outside the terms of reference of this discussion, it is sometimes noticed that a couple who temporarily reconcile their differences and then separate will evade further contact with the probation officer because it is assumed that such a break in marriage will produce disappointment in him. Such expectations do not arise from the facts of the situation at all, but quite clearly from the expectation of behaviour, based on the role he fills. It is vitally necessary that these facts of phantasy and behaviour should be fully taken into account, by recognising a need which has to be satisfied, without at the same time playing into phantasies of some people who anticipate vindictive and revengeful responses. It goes without saying that if this is to be done the fullest possible account must be taken of the developmental influences which are brought to bear on each individual person and the type of feelings which such experiences have stimulated and reinforced.

Before referring to ways in which probation casework techniques should acknowledge the special needs of the probation setting, it is necessary to return briefly to one other consideration arising from the original observations about enforcement in primary social situations. In everyday life anxiety may express itself in simple ways, such as in procrastination and evasion, but within the ambit of the court these features are encountered more frequently and in such degree that people are found who are prevented from taking even the most simple step which might remedy the source and cause of anxiety. Given a chance, most people will tend to take the superficially easy way out of their difficulties, and it is only when they are faced with a situation from which they cannot extricate themselves, or faced with a person they cannot avoid, that they are helped to overcome inertia sometimes produced by quite intense anxiety. This it is felt, is one of the special strengths of the enforced relationship, and it can be seen why it is that probation officers are often the recipients of information which could more appropriately be disclosed, for example, to a psychiatrist or family doctor. The following example is used to illustrate the argument. A short time ago a probation officer completed supervision of a boy in his early teens whose behaviour was being adversely affected by excessively indulgent and over-protective handling by the mother. He was petulant and selfish and his thefts were not of a compulsive nature but more of the 'what I want I have' variety. Initially the child guidance clinic had offered some assistance, but no treatment was possible because the mother repeatedly failed to keep the appointments. During the course of supervision it became increasingly obvious that the mother's attitude

towards her son was coloured by feelings previously experienced in a very uneasy and ambivalent relationship with her younger brother. Her brother had, long before the boy's behaviour became increasingly troublesome at home, died tragically as the result of a rapid malignant illness. It appeared, and was subsequently admitted by the mother, that she felt very guilty for the many real and imagined unkindnesses shown to her brother, and her indulgent handling of her son was related to her need to make reparation in some way for her past hostility. By the end of supervision the mother was accustomed to talk quite freely about these considerable anxieties, the nature of which she had previously kept secret. On her own admission, she benefited from these interviews, but when it was suggested to her that, even although official contact would have ended, she could call and see the probation officer at his office, which was quite close to the home, she found this quite impossible to do. Her superficial reason was simply that if she came to see him he might think her reason for anxiety silly, and she would have difficulty in explaining her presence. If the probation officer called on her, however, under the provision of an Order which made it necessary for him to see her and her to see him, then the matters which caused her anxiety could be touched upon in the general course of interview. However, it seemed equally implicit that the fact of enforcement provided reassurance for the mother that relationship was finite and that the demands she made could be contained by this situation.

Probation casework is rich in examples showing how people may be helped in an enforced situation and how even the very dull are able to perceive the positive implications which may in the first instance appear to be against their interests. Simple examples can illustrate the point.

The first case is of a young man in his early twenties who had drifted away from what was a relatively settled home, but one in which control and guidance were limited. During his independent life he encountered difficulties over employment, found himself in financial trouble and committed what was a relatively simple offence to solve his immediate problem. The early phases of supervision were marked by a general air of discouragement which did not amount to seriously morbid depression, and the young man was becoming deterred from energetic pursuit of necessary employment because of very real difficulties due to some prevailing unemployment. The probation officer concerned took practical and active measures to secure employment for this young man and they spent many hours together in this search. At one stage shortly before it proved fruitful the probationer was seen in the absence of his officer by a colleague. This colleague was surprised to encounter very positive warmth after what was a short period of supervision, and after some difficulty in describing the quality of his relationship the probationer eventually said: 'I wish my

father had been like Mr Blank because when I am with him he makes me feel that things are going to get better for me at last.' Although a simple example it shows how much reassurance can be given by the competent management of the situation by a caseworker, and obvious parallels can be seen between this type of situation and the type of encouragement and reassurance which is given to children by the untroubled action of parents.

The second example is of a boy in his very early teens who is attending the play group run by some Southampton probation officers as an adjunct to their normal, individual casework. The boy concerned is an only child, and the outstanding characteristic of his upbringing was that he had been indulged and characteristically he was suspicious of the motives of his indulgent parents and displayed some obvious signs of insecurity. In the early stages of his attendance in the group his behaviour was not openly destructive but he contrived to annoy the other children who were working or playing happily together, and such disturbances occurred almost invariably when his own probation officer was absorbed with some of the other children. This covert destructiveness was having a detrimental effect on the group as a whole and it ultimately became necessary to apply the sanction of withdrawing the boy from the group. He was given the reason for this by his probation officer who made some simple interpretation of the anxieties behind the boy's behaviour, and accompanied this by a reasonable explanation of the way in which he allocated his time. The boy displayed signs that he was anxious to continue attending and the week following his exclusion he presented himself at the office. He was again seen by his probation officer who verbally anticipated certain behaviour. The boy re-entered the group, and it was noticeable that henceforth the boy made some adjustment to this simple social situation, and in the following attendances there was a marked reduction in the mischievously destructive behaviour.

The last of the examples concerns a man in his middle thirties who had a long record and was placed on probation with certain knowledge that failure would result in a long prison sentence. It was evident that the fear of such a sentence acted as an additional external discipline and the man of such a sentence acted as an additional external discipline and the man succeeded in keeping free from actual criminal behaviour. However, he broke contact after taking some seasonal employment and the probation officer recognised the set of circumstances which had preceded earlier criminal behaviour. A warrant was issued, the man was arrested and was eventually brought before the original sentencing court. In his behaviour towards the probation officer the man showed little obvious resentment and appeared to acknowledge and accept the reason given for the action taken. During the period of remand the man received news that attempts had been made to retain his employment for him and he saw that the

report on his conduct was without obvious bias. A fresh Order was made, but for several days it was not possible for the probationer to commence residential employment. The probation officer shared with him the difficulties of finding temporary accommodation and it was noticeable that the officer was asked repeatedly not to 'worry' about the man. Subsequent discussion with this man at a much later date revealed that he had been impressed by a feeling that his further criminal behaviour and his material circumstances were of direct personal concern to the probation officer, and this theme emerged repeatedly during a phase of supervision lasting some eighteen months.

The examples given are quite ordinary ones but they are representative and valuable in providing a focus for some general conclusions.

1. Probation is inescapably identified with punishment as well as reform and reclamation. If emphasis is given to the deterrent and revengeful element then this must create difficulties for the caseworker who is motivated by reparative feeling. If, however, it is seen that there are directly positive features of punishment, notably an explicit expression of concern for the offender, it is possible to draw on experience of primary family and social situations to provide a conceptual basis for casework activity.
2. Some external control of the individual can assist in the process of maturation because it provides real and promised stability, and again by implication can contain the unconscious and sometimes near-conscious anxieties about aggressive and destructive impulse.
3. Enforcement goes some way to counter superficial evasion and avoidance behaviour which prevents appropriate social action on the part of the individual.
4. The enforced relationship and casework are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, in many respects the probation casework process is enriched by enforcement, and the explanation appears to centre on the fact that enforcement is an essential component of all early socialising processes. If there is anything distinctive about casework in enforcement, it is that the caseworker needs more often to show himself as concerned through positive action, even although it is found that such activity does not prevent the coincidental use of interpretive techniques or the relatively inactive processes of casework in the clinical setting.

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'I give them money'

Geoffrey Parkinson

The following highly original and challenging paper by a practising probation officer underlines some of the illusions that have often bedevilled discussion about what constitutes good social casework. A probation officer must, if we read Geoffrey Parkinson aright, develop his own personal approach and not be frightened by textbook principles too rigidly imposed by academic trainers and the professional casework corps d'élite.

While I was visiting Pentonville prison, Ronald White, aged twenty-four, with twelve court appearances behind him, called at the probation office and asked to see me. I have known him for a number of years and watched him grope his way from gas meter thefts to the impressive delinquent heights of robbery with violence. He was now a voluntary aftercare case and my aim was to maintain some sort of coarse, casual contact until perhaps age and an overdose of prison made him more benign.

On being told I was away Ronald asked to see somebody else, which meant the duty officer. That day the duty officer was an experienced worker, specially trained in psychoanalytically orientated casework and familiar with Ronald White and his history. What went on between them is not clear but my colleague left me a brief note giving his impression of the interview: 'Ronald White called at the office today. I remembered him because he was under my supervision once in Hampshire. The interview started by his asking for financial help but it soon became apparent that he had more fundamental worries; his marriage has just recently broken down after only six months and I felt he had quite deep feelings about this. I am sure he would welcome seeing you again and you may be able to help him work through his difficulties in this area.'

A week later I saw Ronald. 'What's all this about your marriage?' I

asked. 'Oh, that ain't nothing much. I didn't want to marry her anyway,' he answered casually. 'When you saw my colleague he felt you were pretty fed up.' 'Yeah well, it was like this, I was a bit short of money and I thought you might loan me a dollar or two. When they told me you were out I saw Mr T. I was once under his supervision. I told him what I wanted and he started to ask me some questions about myself and when I told him about my marriage he got very interested and wanted to know all about it. I really didn't want to go into it but he seemed pretty keen. He is a nice bloke and after all the interest he was taking, I didn't feel I could end our talk by saying: "I have not come here about my marriage, I want some money," because it might have seemed ungrateful for all the trouble he was taking with my problems. So anyway, I decided I would have to get the money from somewhere else and I thanked him and pushed off.'

There is nothing very momentous about these two interviews. I told Ronald that I felt he could cope with his marriage breakdown, that he would be a bloody fool if he allowed it to lead him into more crime, and I then gave him 10s (50p), a letter to the Ministry of Social Security, and asked him to keep in contact. I think it is highly likely that he will, while I give him cash and boost his fragile ego.

This little incident is too fragmentary for any deep analysis but it illustrates two methods of approach towards clients that arise quite frequently in the probation service and in other casework agencies. My colleague, in classical style, got past the 'presenting problem' to a fundamental area of Ronald's life — his broken marriage. Ronald at an earlier interview had assessed me as 'a hard sod, good for a soft touch'. I am, as one of my colleagues aptly described it, a shallow caseworker.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s deep casework appeared to offer almost magical possibilities for the treatment of clients. Crude assumptions about human motivation were being swept away in our social services. When I had entered the probation service in 1954, reports to courts were little better than police antecedents with a dash of Patience Strong sentimentality. They were mostly based on the 'pull yourself together lad' theory of life. Many advanced voluntary social work agencies looked unhappily at the work of the probation officer. The good Family Welfare Association supervisor of those days could almost be induced into a fit if one said one had given a client money without an analysis in depth of his personality and problems. There was a biblical zeal about the contempt for money shown by those early caseworkers of the New School. Old charity organisations like the Family Welfare Association were particularly vigorous in the pursuit of the pure air of casework, since their histories were usually stained with chronic alms-giving. They had decided money solved nothing, it was merely the symptom of the disease. What was

needed was an understanding of the fundamental problems. Giving money made the client dependent on the social worker; giving insights into the cause of his moneyless state, on the other hand, gave the client independence. The tradition nostalgically lingers on. Good casework is associated with insight, limited casework with giving money.

I gave Ronald money. I give most of my clients money. I give it because it is the one thing they all accept joyfully; it makes them feel valuable; it breaks down, if only for a moment, their sense of isolation. It makes them believe that I may solve their problems, it buys their cooperation and their friendship which invariably they would not sell for any other price. It shows my concern in the only way they understand. I give money with all the difficulties and dangers of dependence it can produce because I feel I have precious little choice within the context of the situations my clients offer me. There is one further reason: 'conning' money out of the probation officer is perhaps a continuation of the client's delinquent activities, but performed within an accepting environment; it is one of the first steps away from actual stealing and as such is to be welcomed.

My clients cannot accept insight; even if they understood what I was trying to get at, the experience would be too claustrophobic for them. They have no 'reasonable ego', they are emotionally frozen, non-verbal and unmotivated towards change, except perhaps when afraid of the punishments the court may impose on them. Helping my clients with cash is like giving a frozen man brandy before asking him to recount the adventures that caused his condition. The sum does not have to be large. I hand out perhaps £2 a week. But the fund available to the Inner London Probation Service, from which I draw this money, can be vital in opening up relations with a client.

On all this there would, I think, be relatively little disagreement nowadays, just some mild regrets and the hope expressed that gradually the client would be able to use the casework situation more constructively. At one time, however, it was the subject of great and terrible casework war, with all the theorists cursing cash.

The theorists in social work have been a great worry to practising caseworkers. Whilst initially helping, they thereafter probably delayed many agencies in delineating their function, except perhaps by means of protest. For its part, probation had a love affair with psychoanalysis. Many of the noted social work theorists of recent times have plagiarised their insights from the works of Freud and Melanie Klein and hoped that we would match our methods with their ideas. Carmelite casework, its nods and grunts and germ-free insights, was offered to clients in mouldy little offices all over England. We weren't too worried if the clients didn't like it. The theorists had explained that quite easily as 'resistance'. What mattered was

the technique, radiating from its centre, that Vatican of casework, the Tavistock Clinic. It took us years to realise that 'the truth' did not always set our clients free.

The probation service is crammed full of dedicated officers who have an accumulation of complex, though partial and half-digested, psychoanalytic theories and insights into human behaviour. Well-meaningly they blunder their way through their caseloads, hoping it all makes some sort of sense. Some may even abandon native intelligence to will-o'-the-wisp theorisings about unconscious motivation. It may even make sense when read in their records and receive high commendation from supervising officers who share the same culture of half-formed theorisings. Yet the central question is, 'What does it mean to the client?' There are a large number of Ronald Whites on our caseload, not so eloquent but probably more shrewd. Time and time again the situation repeats itself. The caseworker, desperately looking for a client who will talk about problems, finds one who is willing to meet the demand. Then off goes the client, followed in hot pursuit by the caseworker, feathers fly in hours of deepening insight until at last the probation officer returns to his case conference exhausted but happy and the client returns unaffected to his crimes. Caseworkers are continually bewildered by the continuing delinquencies of their best clients!

Visiting a prisoner at Springhill some years ago I noticed that he had once been on probation. I asked him how he got on. 'Fine,' he said, 'it was very helpful. We used to talk all about my problems, I was going through a difficult time with my wife.' I said it couldn't have been all that helpful since he had ended up doing more bird. 'No, no,' he replied without showing any signs of regret, 'it was valuable, but you see my probation officer never told me that if I ever got into trouble again I would end up in a place like this.' His remark may have been naive, but its message for treatment is profound.

Marriage problems, for example, may excite and interest a caseworker, but if the client is before him for criminal activity the focus ought to be on the effect a broken marriage may have on the possibilities of further delinquent breakdowns rather than on the marriage as such. There can be no assumption that the client will make the necessary links between matrimonial disharmony and criminality, if links there are. He must be told and told again.

In so far as they have a theoretical knowledge about life, our clients resort to old saws and maxims of the 'it takes two to make a quarrel' variety. These sayings are the client's intellectual contribution to the casework situation and are patronisingly, though not necessarily unsympathetically, assessed by the worker. What the worker may not realise is that invariably he is offering the same sort of patterned stereotyped material

back to the client, only it is middle class more 'psychological' and better presented. The client has learnt a fragmented philosophy which hasn't much bearing on his behaviour. The social worker has a psychology more sophisticated but often almost as rigid, which has little to do with the client's real life, or indeed the social worker's real life, in many cases.

In the future we may have to face in our society not the ignorant inflexibility of much social welfare, but a new insightful inflexibility that comes from knowing 'the truth'. Local welfare authorities, members of the clergy, marriage guidance counsellors and a variety of social work agencies, are already frequently offering, with rigid hygienic zeal, something of the medicine that has been so ardently advocated in the name of insight, progress and reform.

I recently experienced this situation in small detail when I took one of my children to a local authority preschool playgroup, highly commended for its new knowledge about children and play techniques. The staff seemed to know all about my child before they knew my child, and almost parrotlike repeated the truths of child development we social workers know so well. Not surprisingly they took rather less interest in the child than in their theories and their self-preoccupation and general casualness towards the children under their care was slightly distracting, though of course it was explained away by a 'psychological' theory: 'This is the child's world. We won't interfere unless we have to.' This playgroup was probably in many respects a great deal better than the old disciplinary groups, but it revealed the special diseases of its conception.

An ex-colleague of mine, back from the United States, said social workers are more and more leaving their clients to their secretaries to deal with and devoting themselves to case conferences about clients. The joke, I think, is serious. The flight from the client is probably on the increase; the gap between casework theory and practice is not as great now as it once was, but it is still leaving students ill-prepared for what they have to meet in the field and encourages some to withdraw to the shelter of administration, social-work training or research.

This situation has revealed itself most clearly in the super-ego, middle-class preoccupations of many social inquiry reports and casework records, and a curious idealisation of clients' problems and attitudes. With amazing speed, feelings of guilt are discovered in clients and trifling gestures are interpreted as the hallmarks of subtle reparation: 'His father was once a criminal; now he feels a bad side in himself and is ashamed,' one recent report said of a young man who was clearly going through a mild attack of remand-home remorse.

Middle-class assumptions are legion. Descriptions of home surroundings frequently convey more about the social worker's emotional background

than about that of his client. This is particularly true in assessments of the delinquent's mother. Officers are always discovering that she is 'over-protective' and 'overanxious' and while these descriptions may be justified at the time of the court appearance, the way the mother has dealt with her anxieties in her day-to-day life by behaviour may be far more damaging to her children: her arid emotional life and self preoccupation, her extended absences to enjoy the social life of the pub or the launderette, her obsession with bingo or, more frequent than is generally believed, her promiscuous sexuality.

The idealisation of clients' motives is seen in assumptions about their preoccupation with relationships, most characteristically illustrated by my colleague's contact with Ronald White. This particular client's anxiety about his wrecked marriage was a luxury that only the caseworker could really afford. Ronald's narcissism put forward his real priorities. He could stand a broken marriage, but not half an hour without cigarettes. The Family Welfare Association was, I felt at one time, the most pathetic example of the tug of war that can exist between the client's narcissistic preoccupations and the worker's relationship preoccupations. Clients tried to talk about the gas bill, workers tried to talk about the client's mother. Perceptive clients got the gas bill paid by talking about mother.

A great danger in the field of social work is the rigidity of established concepts among those who see themselves as belonging to the casework elite. In their ranks there are many with that curious instinct which allows life to be seen only through a filter of words and concepts. It is understandable that many social scientists and social workers, having gained new knowledge at great personal sacrifice, will not relinquish or amend it willingly. Flexibility seems a thin return for deserting impressive theoretical superstructures, particularly as it leaves a great gulf of uncertainty which feels, even though is not, unprofessional.

Social workers perhaps more than any other professional workers should have means to correct their faults. Extended research into the clients' experiences of social work would be a good starting point.

The approved school: a theoretical model

Howard Jones

Approved schools (the forerunners of presentday community homes), which developed out of the earlier nineteenth-century reformatories and industrial schools, were intended to re-educate juveniles committed to them by the courts either because they had offended or were thought to be in some kind of moral danger. Many were and still are run by voluntary and religious organisations. Children were sent to junior, intermediate or senior schools, usually for quite long periods of time. Regimes varied in severity but in recent years, with falling success rates, there has been an increasing emphasis on establishing a kind of therapeutic residential community rather than the strictly disciplined boarding school of the past.

In the paper that follows, Professor Howard Jones presents a sociological model of the approved school in general in which he shows that conflict theory which leads to a regime of containment was the normal pattern. The idea, however, that juvenile offenders are in some ways deprived children had also been gaining ground since the Curtis Committee Report of 1946. The fact that approved schools have been renamed as community homes since the passing of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act indicates that this latter view has steadily gained support and approval.

Of the various sociological theories propounded in recent years to account for delinquent behaviour, the conflict theory of G. B. Vold (1958) carries as much conviction as any. It states that the criminal law, as the expression of the interests and ideology of the dominant class in society, tends to prohibit and punish that behaviour of other groups which the former see

as distasteful or inconvenient*. On such assumptions, there is no reason, of course, why either of these contending sides should see their own way of behaving as in any way inferior – indeed, rather the reverse. The definition of lower-working-class behaviour as feckless, irresponsible and dishonest, is essentially the work of the rest of us. And sometimes this deprecation of their way of life becomes strong enough for us to incorporate it in the law.

As Vold points out, there are a number of consequences for criminology from this approach, one of them being the rejection of Sutherland's (1949) theory of 'white collar criminality'. Another is its bearing upon our understanding of the nature of penal institutions. Like the law, the prison or the approved school would be merely an element in the wider struggle. This seems clearly to be the case in the prison where the social conflict situation delineated by Vold appears in an extreme form. Here we see not merely two communities confronting each other, with their opposed ideas represented in rather diluted form, but the 'shock troops' of both sides between whom the battle line is very sharply drawn indeed. On the one hand, there is the prison officer, a member of the upward-aspiring respectable working class, who has been recruited to the prison service partly because of his strong identification with middle-class norms (i.e. because he is highly moralistic), and also because he is good at 'maintaining order' and can therefore be relied upon in the front line. Prisoners, for their part, being the most criminal elements of the delinquency-prone population, complete a picture which strongly suggests that in the prisons, the background conflicts in our society are at last brought powerfully into focus. If there is not constant open warfare in our prisons, it is only because of the custodial compromise which the need for survival in close proximity enforces upon both sides.

It is not too difficult to recognise some elements of the same situation in borstals and senior approved schools, but they may be more difficult to discern in approved schools for younger children. Nevertheless they appear to be present, and if they are, must have very important implications for both the regimes of the schools, and the prospect of achieving rehabilitation through them.

There is the same class difference between staff and inmates, most of the staff having been recruited from the families of either skilled workers or members of the lower-middle-class professions, while the boys (as Dr Grunhut has shown) tend to be selected for approved school training rather than other forms of treatment partly on the basis of the respecta-

* Durkheim (1950) anticipated part of this argument when he wrote, 'what confers this (criminal) character upon them is not the intrinsic quality of a given act, but that definition which collective conscience lends them. . . . In other words it will designate them as criminal.'

bility of their homes — the less respectable, the more likely it is that an approved school order will be made. The commonest attitudes of the staff towards the boys are also those which might be expected in a social conflict situation of this kind. The most obvious motive is that of 'containment': there is always, in the approved school service, an anxious preoccupation with custodial security and orderliness which suggests that the schools (like so many of our residential institutions) are used by society primarily as a way of 'disposing of' its more burdensome fellow citizens — an opportunity to brush the dust under the carpet. In conflict theory terms, we have failed to contain this portion of our minority out-group within the community, so we have set up an especially secure institutional environment for that purpose. Retributive, deterrent and cynical attitudes point in the same direction. We must take our revenge and also try to coerce them into conformity; to try to do more is a waste of time, for they are as committed as we. Such attitudes are consistent with a situation akin to war. The boys, in a sense, represent 'the enemy', whom it would be either ludicrous or immoral to 'treat'. Though they are entitled to the protection of the 'rules of war', for like all our penal institutions, the approved school service has strict rules to protect inmates from neglect or ill-treatment, one can anticipate that only a few traitors of weak character and uncertain loyalty will change sides. The rather contemptuous attitude of the staff towards those boys who do side with them is a striking confirmation of the existence of this belief.

Yet there are moderating influences at work, deriving like the basal conflict itself, from the wider society outside the institution. One of these also influences the climate of the prison, though to a much lesser extent. It is the increasing obfuscation of class differences which appears to have occurred since the war with the wider distribution of relative affluence, and the assimilation of patterns of consumption which the latter and post-war advertising (especially through television) appear to have brought about. Ways of life seem to be becoming more similar, and as a result the conflict situation itself to have been softened.

To the extent that such fundamental social changes are in progress, the role of the penal institution is bound to change. Proselytism becomes a possible aim, for the convert's background situation may have changed. If he now accepts the standard of his captors, he may not after all, find himself socially isolated after he leaves. Indeed, such a change in his attitudes may only help him to make a better adjustment outside than would otherwise be the case.

The development of a rehabilitative aim in prisons and correctional schools over recent years, could not have been greatly affected by any growth in our understanding of the process of rehabilitation. Little serious

and well-validated research on these questions has yet been accomplished. The kinds of ideas now being tried out are ideas, derived either from common sense, education, social work, or exceptionally psychoanalysis, with which we have been familiar for a long time. What seems to have happened more recently is that the social context has become more favourable to their realisation in practice.

As the Jesuits are alleged to say: 'Give us the children while they're young, and you can do what you like with them afterwards.' It is during childhood that fundamental social attitudes are established. With all the support to be derived from the ancestral wisdom embodied in such sayings as 'you can't teach an old dog new tricks', our society brings its reformatory endeavours to bear most powerfully upon its younger dissidents. The idea of reformation has made a little progress in the prison service, and as far as the development of techniques for carrying it into effect is concerned, more progress has been made even, than in the approved schools. Nevertheless the *ideology* of reformation is much stronger in the schools, and one would anticipate that once the acquisition of tools for this purpose has started, it would go ahead very fast indeed.

The other ameliorating influence has been the incorporation of the approved school service within the general framework of our national social service provision for deprived children. This occurred after the war as a result of the recommendations of the Curtis Committee (1946), and meant that the training of staff, and the orientation of the local and central departments concerned with approved schools would be animated by the same attitudes as those directed towards children removed from home because of neglect or ill-treatment and therefore seen as unfortunate rather than naughty. The Curtis Committee, pointing to the obvious defects in the home background of the young offenders, and the frequency with which 'deprived' children committed acts which, even when they were not actually delinquent were of a very similar character, argued that it was often only a matter of chance whether a child was dealt with as a delinquent or as a deprived child. This identity of background between the two kinds of child is only a further indication of the common culture from which our social non-conformists derive. And as further confirmation, the Committee pointed out also that many deprived, non-delinquent children were to be found in approved schools, and should continue to be placed there.

Parallel, therefore, with changes in our class structure (and perhaps a result of this) there has been the growth of an ideology of child care in the immediate institutional environment of the approved schools which has had some effect in softening the full rigours of the conflict situation. Reformatory trends within the school, emanating from the wider society,

have been complemented by the recruitment of a new kind of staff, selected and trained to care for deprived children. They are usually members of the respectable classes, but not uncompromising partisans like their older colleagues. They reflect the new optimism about the possibility of rehabilitation, and just as older staff were recruited for their devotion to the conflict, so they are chosen because of their favourable attitude towards the possibility of integration, i.e. reform. The most serious internal conflicts within the approved schools are between the protagonists of these two points of view.

Much of what has been said seems to contradict the frequent assumption in the approved school service that the headmaster of a school is almost all-powerful. Staff will frequently talk as if the regime were determined almost exclusively by the personal opinions and even whims of the head. To decide how much power he in fact has, it is important to examine his relationship with the community and its social divisions on the one hand and with the staff and boys on the other, and also to try to find out how much constraint is exercised over him by the way in which his school is organised internally.

Crucial in such an analysis appears to be the degree of bureaucratisation in the school. The word bureaucracy is being used, not in any pejorative sense, but in the sociological usage of Max Weber. It is not possible to embark here upon any extended discussion of Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy, but the term is being used to refer to a social structure of a pyramidal type, in which discretion and policymaking (at any rate in theory) are concentrated at the apex, while all those lower in the organisation have a closely defined task which limits their own personal discretion while dovetailing them neatly into the overall division of labour — the right kinds of cogs fitted into the right places in the machine.

In practice, in the approved school service, this pattern is most likely to occur where the school is run by a local authority committee. The headmaster is ostensibly the servant of the committee, carrying out its orders. In fact, however, he has more room for free movement than this situation would seem to permit. His independence seems to derive from two main sources. There is, in the first place, a formal division of function embodied in the approved school rules. The managers are expected to make policy decisions and to exercise the most general supervision over the institution, but the execution of the policy is formally entrusted to the head. He has therefore a formal basis to lay claim to some independent status, if he wishes to do so. This is in accordance with the characteristics of a bureaucracy as Weber described them. The bureaucrat not only has strictly defined and limited functions, but he is protected in his performance of these; no other official can usurp them.

The head's second protection arises from the facts of his executive role rather than from the formal rules which prescribe it. It would, of course, be quite impossible for a committee to supervise and control the daily work of the school. They are forced to use the headmaster as an agent for that purpose, and this means accepting their task (i.e. the situation in the school) as he represents it to them; and also relying upon him as the channel through which their ideas about policy are going to be processed into a form suitable for application and then carried into effect. His strength derives from the fact that he has a foot in both camps: in the committee and in the school: and is therefore the only bridge between the two. It is perhaps worth noting that his position is most secure in the local authority school, where because of the general bureaucratic climate within which local authorities work, formal role prescription is likely to have most force. It will probably be most threatened, paradoxically enough, where the school management committee consists of professionals, directly concerned with and skilled in child care or the treatment of offenders, for then they are very likely to be interested in the minutiae of the treatment process, and in this context that means the daily life of the school.

How the headmaster makes use of this freedom of his seems to depend in part upon his personality. If he is himself bureaucratically inclined, preferring the safety of rules to the opportunities of choice, or if he happens to be particularly subservient to authority, then his discretion may all but disappear. And in such a case he not only becomes part of the bureaucratic chain himself, but, tends to extend it beyond himself into the structure of the school itself. To be able to answer to the managers, he must have control, and the simplest way of achieving control is rigidly to limit the discretion of those beneath him. In such a case the school will most faithfully represent the attitudes of outside society, which means that it will mainly reflect the conflict situation. It is often no accident that a head of this kind has been appointed. If the managers want a faithful acolyte, that is the kind of headmaster they will seek. They may do this because a sense of the importance of public accountability is strongly developed within a particular local authority, or as has happened in one or two cases, because of a previous experience of the disadvantages which may result from having given a previous headmaster a freer rein.

Other solutions besides the bureaucratic are possible. If the headmaster is not of the kind just described, then he is most likely to be what Weber calls a charismatic leader. The charismatic leader binds his followers to him by his own personal magnetism; he has what we are inclined to call 'the right kind of personality'. As Weber describes him he is usually a rebel. Being essentially an individualist, breaking with the social structure in a

way which the more bureaucratically-minded headmaster would find intolerable, he is able to follow his own inclinations. He is the headmaster with a new idea, usually with a strong psychological flavour about it. Many of his staff adore him, and look upon him as a uniquely talented person. His break with the norm is too great, however, to masquerade as merely 'administration'. He is therefore, very unlikely to find a comfortable billet for himself in a local authority school. He usually needs a voluntary body as his sponsor, for a social welfare organisation of this kind has a much lower degree of public accountability than a local authority, consisting of elected councillors and with ratepayers' associations and the opposition party constantly on the lookout for failure or scandal.

He could be in an even stronger position if his managers were professionals. He is invariably a reformer, and the reformatory *ethos*, to which reference has already been made, tends to be located in professional groups outside rather than in the general community. The professions of education, social work, psychology: these tend to be the spearhead of new reformatory ideas in the penal system. A board of managers who have their roots in these bodies are not only stiffened in their resolve by the support they thus gain, but find their nonconformity legitimised and made respectable in the community at large because they can say that 'current opinion among social workers, or teachers, or psychologists is . . . '.

Though such a committee may be indispensable as a buffer between the charismatic headmaster and the community, they are likely to prove restive allies. As with the bureaucratic head, they will know what it is all about, and will want to have a say. Nor will they be inhibited by a respect for protocol as might be the councillor members of a local authority committee. Much will probably depend upon how much respect the committee have for the headmaster's own expertise in the relevant (i.e. their) professional fields; in very favourable cases he seems to become a charismatic figure to the committee as well as to his staff.

The effect of these two different structures upon the regime of the school are likely to be very different, most obviously in the extent to which either the conflict or the treatment theme are embodied in the regime. Parallel with this will be the difference in the amount of discretion accorded to the headmaster's subordinates. In the bureaucratic school, as we have seen, the unity of the regime is effected by limiting that discretion. In the kind of school now under discussion, no such organisational restraints are necessary. The staff readily identify with the headmaster, whom they admire, and with his ideas. They thus carry out his policies without any sense of being controlled; they carry out policies they believe in. The degree of unity between them moreover, has not the sheer literality of a unity enforced by rules and regulations. The staff of such a

school are still behaving as individuals, and although the theme may be the same, there are an infinite number of variations to be played upon it according to the individual involved. All of this is very consistent with the requirements of a therapeutic policy. The modern ideology of social or psychological therapy is based upon the idea of a therapeutic relationship between client and worker. By means of this relationship the worker becomes uniquely aware of the problems of the client, and in return brings to bear his own healing influence upon the latter. It is an intensely individualistic philosophy, which could not possibly be domesticated within a bureaucratic structure.

None of this precludes the existence of disagreement. Although a reforming headmaster is likely to recruit a staff of his own kind, he is rarely lucky enough to start with a clean sheet, for the school is usually a going concern before he arrives. Nor are any of us as good as all that in selecting the kind of people we want. In the charismatically led school, the lack of formal controls would not necessarily mean that disagreements would be frankly expressed. Moral pressure towards conformity, at least with the most general aim of the school, i.e. therapy, can be very powerful. The conflict viewpoint, when it occurs in such a school, therefore, often has to be rationalised in terms of the therapeutic point of view: that to behave in the way proposed by the headmaster and his supporters is bad for the boys. Nevertheless disagreement does not have to be completely suppressed, as would tend to be the case in the more authoritarian regime typical of a bureaucratic structure. The other factor affecting the open emergence of such disagreements is whether both sides can find expression within the formal social structure of the school, for example, dividing as between teachers and housemasters or as between the followers of the headmaster and his deputy. But often, especially in the bureaucratic school, it is much further from the surface. The minority point of view tends to be expressed in discontent, covert resistance, subversive talk, and even action, and in extreme cases, by a more or less surreptitious appeal to centres of power outside the institution. The development of an organisational means for enabling these two points of view to coexist and operate effectively within the service is essential if either (or as is more realistic, both) are to be at all effective.

Weber devoted a great deal of time to examining the defects in the charismatic form of leadership. Because it is so personal it tends to die with the particular leader. This is a great disadvantage, for it means that gains which might have been made by him are often lost after his disappearance from the scene. He might pass on some of his magic to others, and there are in the field of correctional education good examples of this. People like A. S. Neill and W. David Wills were inspired by the example of

Homer Lane, and (in spite of their protestations to the contrary) seem to be strongly personal leaders of the same kind [see references].

It would seem vital that some means should be found for the gains they make to be reinforced, and then become the base for further advances. This is the way in which progress has to be made in most fields of human endeavour. Alfred Weber (1950) makes an important distinction between culture and civilisation, culture being that which springs up anew as the spirit of a society, while civilisation consists of the material gains made, which can be built up slowly and cumulatively from generation to generation. If the treatment aim is to be seen as the way forward for the future, the crucial step will be the conversion of treatment from an aspect of the culture of the school, to a part of its civilisation. This probably means that we need more established facts about the process of rehabilitation. These should be in the nature of scientific laws, and just as one scientist can stand on the shoulders of one who preceded him, so would one generation of approved school staff then be able to rely upon the lead given to them by the work of their predecessors.

This is unlikely to happen unless the charismatic attitude of many therapists is modified. To be able to pass on the tradition one has to believe that it is the kind of thing which can be communicated. To be able to evaluate a procedure, it is necessary to accept that the process is not too subtle, or too subjective for evaluation. It may be too subtle or too subjective to be assessed adequately by the tools at present available for the purpose, but this is merely a challenge to our inventiveness.

There is much in this proposal which is reminiscent of the situation in the school united by a strong religious belief. The Roman Catholic Church and the Salvation Army run a number of approved schools as well as special schools of other kinds. Nearer the outer fringe of religious orthodoxy, are the Steiner schools with their anthroposophical beliefs. Schools like this provide a third organisational mode, needing neither the strict control of the bureaucratically organised school nor the personal bond to, at any rate, a living leader. Their attachment is to the religious precepts themselves. Like the ideology of treatment, the religious ideology spans the class conflict; but its basis is found not in the increasing integration of society, but in the common spiritual nature of man. In the words of Hobhouse (1919):

And if neither personal antagonism nor moral differences are to interfere with love, still less can the barriers of class, and race, and sex be allowed to stand. We are all alike members of one another, sons of God, brothers and sisters upon earth, and co-heirs of the kingdom of heaven. . . . Nor is salvation merely a personal end which each must win for

himself. It is also the duty of every good Christian to win it for his brothers. He must go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in.

To the devoutly religious worker in the approved school, the task is to win over the offender's spiritual nature, and reformation in such hands takes on a non-technical (i.e. moralistic) and rather emotional complexion. This is the case with the individual staff member, but where a whole school is committed to a religious approach, it becomes the determinant of the school regime. A religious ideology can thus unify the school in so far as the staff are adherents, but where this is not the case (and most religious approved schools have nonreligious staff members), the familiar internal stresses begin to emerge. The unity achieved by adherence to an ideology like a religious belief shares with the charismatic pattern the advantage of being modifiable within limits to suit the inclinations of particular individuals. It has, in other words, to be interpreted.

A scientific ideology, such as that described above could operate in the same way. If scientific experimentation produced hard and fast operational rules for dealing with particular cases, this would not be the case, but current research seems instead to be leading to conclusions about types of offender, and the types of treatment which are appropriate to each of them. These can only be general prescriptions. They greatly reduce the area of uncertainty, and the degree of dependence upon personal 'magic'. They may reduce the intuitive and unique element in each treatment decision to a minimum, and by weakening the charismatic element in the situation actually strengthen the part played by scientific objectivity. Nevertheless personal application will continue to be important. The person working directly with clients straddles two situations in much the same way as does the headmaster of the school; he has one foot in the school and the other in the life of his client. He is the only possible channel of communication between these two worlds, and so must be used as such by the school in the performance of its correctional or punitive function.* This limits the power of the bureaucratic headmaster to reflect the conflict situation, beyond a certain point, in the way in which correctional work actually goes forward in practice. It limits the power both of the charismatic leader and of the religious ideology except to the extent that either are firmly entrenched in the heart of the practitioner. Finally, and perhaps most significantly for the future shape of the approved

* This concept of a 'bridge' function is similar to the Lewinian concept of the 'gate-keeper', a bridge, however, must be used while the gatekeeper has merely to be passed. Also compare with communications theory: the 'bridge' person is equivalent to the 'central' person, at the nodal point of a communications network in Leavitt's experiments.

schools, it limits the detail in which scientific generalisations can prescribe the way in which rehabilitative work is to be carried out in practice.

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Residential treatment for young offenders: the boys' perspectives

Owen Gill

Owen Gill's paper is concerned with a sociological analysis of one approved school, 'Whitegate', which he studied during the period of transition to becoming a more therapeutic type residential community in harmony with modern child care principles. He shows how traditional attitudes and new ideas tend to conflict with one another in the evolution of one not untypical institution. An 'action' frame of reference adopted in this paper helps us to see in very practical terms the kinds of obstacles that confront efforts to change correctional institutions, and the forces of inertia that pull against intended reforms.

Although much has been written in this country about the residential treatment of young offenders there is a lack of systematic information on the subject, and a review of the research literature shows that borstals and detention centres have received more attention than approved schools. Bottoms and McClintock (1968) have suggested that this is because 'approved schools are in some ways closer to the educational than to the penal services and the need for specifically penological research may not have seemed so important'. Much of the literature on residential treatment for adolescent offenders is based on personal experiences and personal convictions. The contributions of such men as Wills, Joyce, Lyward, Miller, and most recently Balbernie, to the development of residential treatment practice should not be underestimated, but in the majority of cases these men have worked in experimental situations. What they say is often not directly applicable to the functioning of the approved school system. Indeed the very interest that their work creates indicates that it goes beyond the usual definitions of residential treatment for young offenders.

Some systematic research has been done on the approved schools but this has tended to concentrate on specific aspects of treatment rather than on social interaction in the school setting. For instance, considerable attention has recently been paid to the problem of absconding; and evidence has been obtained on the personality characteristics of boys who arrive at approved schools. But the intending researcher has to go to the American literature to obtain findings of a more sociological nature. Several studies have come to be regarded as particularly significant.

Polsky's (1962) individualistic research report presented a sociocultural analysis of collective delinquency within an institutional setting. It suggested the existence of a negative, hostile inmate subculture with a rigid status hierarchy based on violence or the threat of violence. An important point running through Polsky's book is that the staff and inmates of 'Cottage Six' defined the treatment situation in different ways from each other. Polsky suggested that 'treatment and training would benefit greatly from a deeper understanding of the peer culture and the resistance that emerges from the boys' collective social practices'.

Street, *et al.* (1966) conducted a comparative study of six correctional institutions for boys. Using the idea of the 'people-changing organisation' the authors suggested a 'custody-treatment' continuum and constructed an organisational typology consisting of three models based on the institution's publicised goals and beliefs. At one end of the continuum is the 'obedience-conformity' model. Institutions which come into this category are typically routinised and authoritarian and utilise high levels of domination. They are also characterised by the use of negative sanctions. In the middle of the continuum is the 're-education-development' model which emphasises training and provides closer staff-boy relations. At the other extreme of the continuum is the 'treatment' model. Institutions which fall into this category tend to be relatively permissive and free from negative sanctions. Helping the individual boy is the focus of such institutions and an attempt is made at 'the psychological reconstitution of the individual'. The object of this research was to test the hypothesis that in juvenile institutions organisational strategies determine such things as the content of activities, the structure of internal power arrangements, staff hierarchies and relationships, levels of conflict and tension, strategies of social control, and patterns of behaviour and leadership among inmates.

These American studies can offer useful guidelines, but research on residential treatment for young offenders in the United States is only indirectly relevant to similar treatment in this country. The organisation of American delinquency treatment programmes differs from that of our own and these programmes operate in a different cultural setting.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the lack of systematic informa-

tion regarding residential treatment in this country is that we know little or nothing about how the young offenders themselves perceive their period of treatment. The perception of the nature of residential establishments is changing in the minds of those who administer the system but there is as yet little evidence to suggest it is changing in the minds of the boys for whom it is designed. Possibly an important factor in the apparent 'failure' of our residential schools is the fact that those who run the system and those who are subjected to it define the situation in different ways. For instance the staff member and the boy might define their respective roles differently and as a result of this both may have different views about their relationship. The staff member may see his contact with the boy as essentially warm and permissive whereas the boy, as a result of previous expectation and anticipation may regard it as essentially restrictive. More generally the regime and purpose of the school may be interpreted in significantly different ways by boys and staff.

This article reports some results of a study I carried out in 1970 in a boys' intermediate approved school to which I have given the pseudonym 'Whitegate'. Although the approved school system has now been superseded by the more flexible community home system the results of this study are still relevant in that they indicate some of the underlying social processes and attitudes which may be independent of or little effected by reorganisation. And it is these processes and attitudes which have to be taken account of if any significant change is to be made in the impact that residential treatment has on young offenders.

The study was based on Whitegate school as it was during a five month living-in research period. Additionally various meetings with staff took place before this period, and contact was maintained with the school for nine months after the end of the living-in research period. During my time in the school I was given access to witness all the school's activities. I sat in on staff meetings where policy was discussed, I observed 'review meetings' where the school's managers discussed with individual boys their 'progress' and decided on their dates of release, and I witnessed a number of house grade meetings where the staff discussed with the boys their 'behaviour' and allocated them to grades which played a large part in determining their date of release.

The first months of my time in the school were spent in observation of this kind and in more informal contact with the boys, and it was not until the end of my stay that I informally interviewed seventy-seven of the eighty-eight boys in the school. The initial observation period was therefore of use not only in terms of getting to know the boys but also in indicating the specific topics which might be introduced in the interviews.

The major area of interest in this research was the perceptions and

behaviour of a group of young offenders aged thirteen to sixteen and however much he tries the university-trained adult observer is likely to be regarded as a person apart by boys of this age and background. Because of this, and also because it was necessary to gain information from the staff in the school and to interact with them, I adopted the role of 'student visitor' to the school. At Whitegate not only were student visitors a common part of the day-to-day life of the school but their role was well understood. Both staff and boys were accustomed to adults being in the school who had neither a teaching nor a supervisory role.

But although my presence could be explained initially in these terms, certain aspects of the situation meant that I was regarded, as time went by, in a different light from the usual student visitors to the school. My fairly intense contact with the boys and my asking them for information they would regard as confidential meant that I was put through what has been called a 'testing' period. Boys wanted to find out whether I could be trusted and whether the information they gave me would be divulged to the staff. This usually took the form of boys telling me of activities they were involved in which were obviously contrary to the rules of the school or putting me in a position where I witnessed illegal activities. For instance, how the adult stands in relation to boys' smoking is an important indicator as to whether he can be accepted into their confidence. Boys would show me tobacco or 'roll-ups' and light-up in my presence. This obviously had to be kept from the staff. Another form of 'testing' involved boys talking in a disparaging manner about staff members and waiting for my reaction. In this situation I obviously supported the boys rather than staff.

As a result of this period of testing I think it is fair to say that I came to be regarded as a person they could confide in and who could be trusted to witness their behaviour without it being reported to the staff. A nice indicator of my not being regarded as a member of the staff came one evening after a football match in which I had been involved in a dispute with one of the boys. I asked the boy if I could see him after the game and he replied: 'I know what you're going to say if you was here for teaching you'd thump me.'

The individual interviews with the seventy-seven boys took place in a small dayroom in one of the house units and took anything from half an hour to two hours each. Most of the boys were interviewed in the daytime. Besides leaving my evenings free for contact of a more general nature, this had the advantage that most boys welcomed the chance to be interviewed as a 'good skive' from the classroom and trade departments. They were thus willing participants in the interviews. Indeed, although each boy was given the chance to opt out of being interviewed, all seventy-seven agreed

to it. Only one boy was suspicious claiming that a similar interview had been given to him in a police station and the results of it used to accuse him of crimes he had not committed.

The main purpose of the interview schedule was to direct the conversation to areas of interest rather than to obtain straightforward answers to specific questions. It was regarded as very important that the boys should be allowed to give free expression to their feelings. But in each interview the order and wording of questions were the same. Lengthy notes of what was actually said were taken during and after the interviews. A tape-recorder was used occasionally but because of its novelty most boys tended to be suspicious of it.

Interviewing boys such as these in an approved school setting is likely to produce certain problems. First there is the difficulty of language. Not only did boys use certain words which had specific connotations to them but also they used certain blanket terms to express a wide range of feelings. For many of the boys in the school people, places, and events were simply 'great', 'all right' or 'rotten'. To have persuaded them to articulate finer distinctions in their feelings (for instance by the use of elaborate scales) would have produced a false picture. Another danger of the interview situation was that these boys, particularly the ones with previous institutional experience, might have grown used to hiding their feelings as an aid to institutional survival. In the group-living situation the boy who is defined as overemotional is popular with neither boys nor staff. And an aspect of this lack of expression of feeling is that these boys were characteristically used to being interviewed by teachers, police, probation officers, and social workers and might have developed techniques for avoiding 'giving away too much'. As one boy said: 'I've answered these questions a load of times. A load of people have asked me them.'

Finally, a third danger was that some of the boys in spite of assurances to the contrary might still have thought that the information they gave me would be passed on to the staff. For those boys, as is discussed below, a major preoccupation was their date of release, and it may be that they interpreted every institutional event in these terms. It is possible that some boys viewed the interviews in this light and felt that they had to give answers that would be approved of by the staff.

However having indicated these problems and having anticipated that the difficulties of normal interviewing would be exaggerated in this study, I do believe that the majority of the boys were open and honest in their responses. Talking to a person who was prepared to listen rather than advise had been a rare occurrence in the lives of these boys and most seemed to enjoy the experience. Some even asked 'go through it again

from the start'. And the best evidence that the boys were giving accurate responses was that they were prepared to talk about activities and attitudes that would have been disapproved of strongly by the staff.

PERCEPTIONS OF WHITEGATE

Expectations

To understand the boys' reactions to the Whitegate experience it is first of all necessary to examine the expectations of the school that they arrived with. In the individual interviews each boy was asked to describe what he had expected Whitegate to be like before he arrived. The majority of responses (fifty-five out of the seventy-seven boys) indicated that they were expecting the school to be highly unpleasant. In particular they expected facilities to be bad and there to be a high level of security:

'I thought it would be dead strict: never being allowed out or allowed to go home to see your Mum and Dad.'

'All doors locked, someone following you around everywhere you went, never allowed out except for an hour's recreation in the afternoon.'

'Thought it would be so bad I'd just keep running away from it all the time.'

Also the majority of the seventy-seven boys had primarily unfavourable expectations of the staff:

'I thought the staff would be like at Borstal. They'd be really hard. Anything you did wrong they'd be down on you like a ton of bricks.'

'I thought the staff would be like policemen.'

However, it is one thing to say that the boys had unfavourable expectations of the school, it is another that in their minds their committal was unjust. Whatever the severity of the committal, its perceived legitimacy is of central importance. When asked whether they thought it fair that they had been sent to Whitegate, fifty-three of the seventy-seven boys replied that they did, fifteen thought it 'unfair', and nine boys were uncertain. Thus the majority of the boys believed in the legitimacy of their removal to an approved school, although one boy qualified this by saying that he thought it fair that he should be sent away, but not to a school so far away from his own home.

The boys were also asked why they had replied in the way they did. One newly arrived boy thought it fair but could not articulate why, but it was possible to categorise the responses of the remaining fifty-two boys who said why they thought it fair in the following way:

1. Those who replied in terms of their committal being the result of specific offences (into this category were put such responses as 'I've broken the law, I deserve it', 'If you do something wrong then you take what comes it's a chance you take', and 'Because I've done jobs and got caught it's only right I should be sent here'). Twenty-nine responses.
2. Those who replied in terms of having been given other forms of training, and residential school training being 'the end of the line' (in this category were included such responses as 'I've had my chances but I didn't take them and I got into more trouble. I was warned but I didn't take no notice', and 'I think if you've been through probation and "scrubs" then it's fair that you should be sent down'). Fifteen responses.
3. Finally there was a group of boys who appeared to interpret the word 'fair' more in terms of 'the right thing' (into this category went responses suggesting that it would 'do them good' or that because of their home situation it was 'right' and they should be sent away. 'If I didn't get sent to Whitegate I'd still be doing the same things on the outside that I used to do', and 'All the trouble I was getting into at home, it was costing my parents quite a bit in fines so I suppose it's fair'). Eight responses.

Summarising both these sets of findings, what clearly emerges is that the official ideology of the residential schools as treatment centres was characteristically very far from the minds of the boys immediately prior to arrival at Whitegate. They were typically expecting a highly disciplined and in many cases 'closed' institution; and their committal was usually seen as a natural and punitive consequence of their delinquent activity.

General perceptions

The seventy-seven boys were asked in the research interviews: 'What do you think of the school now? Is it better than you expected it to be or worse?' Sixty-three of the seventy-seven boys thought the school was 'better' than they had expected it to be. To gain an idea of how they interpreted this question the sixty-three boys were then asked why they had replied in this way. From 100 responses of the sixty-three boys* it

* Some boys gave more than one reason for thinking it was better. Very few boys gave more than two reasons. This method of presenting responses to open-ended questions is obviously not perfect in as much as the opinions of a boy who gives two reasons are given more significance than those of a boy who gives only one. On the other hand the number of boys who gave each answer is accurately recorded. I have used this method of presentation in order to keep as close as possible to the answers actually given by the boys.

was possible to construct the following categories (typical responses for individual categories and given in brackets):

1. Being allowed a degree of freedom and not being locked up. ('It's all open. They don't lock you up. If you want to go out in the grounds all you do is ask a staff member.') Twenty-six responses.
2. Staff being more approachable. ('You can get on better with the staff than I thought you would be able to.') Twenty-four responses.
3. Being materially better off, including food, clothes and living accommodation. ('It's really modern here — you get a bedroom between only three lads.') Eighteen responses.
4. Discipline being less severe than was expected. ('It's not really strict at all here.') Nine responses.
5. Having more activities to engage in. ('The games here are really great.') Eight responses.
6. Having the opportunity to learn a trade. ('The trades they learn you here are good. I should get a good job when I leave.') Seven responses.
7. Having more contact with home than was expected. ('I get to see me Mum more than I expected.') Five responses.
8. Being able to get on with boys who were also in the school. ('They're not bullies here. I get on great with the other lads.') Three responses.

These answers show that the sixty-three boys clearly regarded life at Whitegate as being less restricted, less authoritarian and less depriving than they had expected. Indeed in answering this question many of the boys described an initial reaction of surprise on arriving at the school. The responses of two boys can be given as examples of this:

'Compared with what I was told it was really soft. When I arrived there were lads playing football on the yard and some were just doing nothing. Some lads were even smoking but the teacher didn't do nothing about it. He must have seen them.'

'I was expecting to see all the lads looking out from behind bars at me but when I got there it just seemed like a normal school.'

And one boy compared the school favourably with a children's home he had been in:

'You wouldn't think this is an approved school. You'd think it was a children's home. My children's home was stricter than this place.'

Staff-boy contact

Because importance is attached to the development of supportive relationships between individual staff members and individual boys it was con-

sidered important to look at this specific aspect of the boys' residential experience. Besides the analysis of this contact in terms of the treatment function of the school, a study of these relationships also offered a focus from which to view important institutional processes. Not only was the structure of relationships significant in terms of influencing the way boys reacted to each other and the code of values they adopted in the residential setting, it was also of significance in determining the means of control available to staff members. It was thus a central factor in an analysis of institutional stability.

First of all I asked the boys a precoded question: 'How well do you get on with the staff in your house?' Forty-four of them replied they had primarily favourable feelings about these relationships, twenty-eight were indifferent and only four had unfavourable feelings. The results to the question therefore indicated relatively amicable relationships between house staff and boys at Whitegate. However, in the interviews considerable indication was given of a degree of 'social distance' between staff and boys. Each of the seventy-seven boys were asked: 'If you want to get on well with the staff in your house what is the best way to go about it?' So that the boys could interpret this question in the way they felt most appropriate responses were left unstructured, but it was possible to construct the following categorisation of the 122 answers given by the seventy-seven boys. Again typical responses for each category are given in brackets:

1. Responses indicating that the boy should behave and obey the staff. ('Do what they tell you to do when they tell you to do it.') Sixty-two responses.
2. Responses indicating that the boy should be respectful to staff. ('Always be polite to them and say "good morning" to them.') Fourteen responses.
3. Responses indicating that the boy should work hard at the job which had been allocated to him. ('Any job they give you, do it well, if it's cleaning then make a good job of it.') Fourteen responses.
4. Responses indicating that the boys should help the staff. ('If there's something to be done, you shouldn't wait to be told: you've got to help them.') Twelve responses.
5. Responses indicating that the boy had to pick his companions carefully if he wanted to get on with the staff. ('Keep away from the messers, i.e. boys who get others into "trouble".') Nine responses.*

* Into this category were put two responses that indicated the boys should avoid trying to be popular with other boys: 'Don't take no notice of other lads'; and 'Don't try to be a noise' (i.e. important person).

6. Responses indicating that the boy should aim to have only limited contact with the staff. ('Try to keep out of their way, that's the best way to get on with them.') Five responses.
7. Responses indicating that the boy should be friendly with the staff. ('Don't keep on saying "Yes sir, no sir" to them. Just be mates with them.') Three responses.
8. Responses indicating that the boy should confide in staff. ('Tell them what's on your mind.') Three responses.

Because of the significance of this question in terms of the boys' experience of the school some further examples of the most frequent responses are now given.

'Soon as you get back from school polish your shoes. If they say they want you in the lounge at six then be in there at five to six. If the ladies tell you to do anything do it.' (Category 1.)

'Keep your mouth shut and do what you're told. You can't go wrong!' (Category 1.)

'Keep out of their way and keep quiet. There's three boys doing that at the moment and they're getting on great.' (Category 1.)

'Be quiet. Keep yourself to yourself. If you're told to go on a run then do it without muttering. If you're made to go swimming or something like that, then do it.' (Category 1.)

'Don't be "fly" with them.' (Category 2.)

'Be courteous. Learn your manners.' (Category 2.)

'If they give you a job make sure you do it specially well, particularly cleaning after breakfast.' (Category 3.)

'Ask them if they want help with anything. Ask them if you can dig their gardens or wash their cars.' (Category 4.)

Although the position is obviously not clearcut, it would appear from this group of responses that the boys thought the best way to 'get on with the staff' was to comply with the level of 'behaviour' that was expected of them in the residential setting. It can be seen from the above categorisation that the majority of boys answered in terms of 'behaving', 'obeying the staff', being 'respectful' and 'working hard'. Few boys answered in positive terms such as would indicate a lessening of the 'social distance' between staff and boys, and a breaking down of the barriers of accessibility between members of the two different groups.

The purpose of the school

To extend the evidence relating to the boys' general definition of the situation they found themselves in, I asked each of the seventy-seven boys to say what he considered the 'purpose' of the school to be. It was realised that these responses would be in part the result of prior orientations and expectations and in part the result of their perception of daily life in the school. The boys did not, however, answer the question in a stereotyped fashion, and both the range of responses and the time that the boys spent thinking about the question in the interview situation indicated that they were trying to give a realistic answer. Responses were not precoded but it was possible to extract seven categories. Six boys could give no answer to the question and some boys gave more than one reason. The following figures are therefore based on the 110 responses of the seventy-one boys. Again examples of each category are given in brackets:

1. Training the boy not to continue committing delinquent acts. Responses in this category suggested the school served a 'conditioning' function. ('To train you so as you know laws and get out of the habit of screwing.') Forty-three responses.
2. For job training. Boys who felt the purpose of the approved school was to train them for a job so that they would have a 'chance' when they left the school. ('Teach you a job so that when you get out you'll get good money and won't have to go screwing.') Twenty-six responses.*
3. To keep boys away from temptation. To keep them away from situations in which delinquent activity might occur. ('Keep the lads out of towns. Keep them away from houses and that.') Seventeen responses.
4. Retributive responses indicating that the purpose of the school was to punish boys for delinquent activity. ('I done wrong so I gotta be punished for it.') Nine responses.
5. Responses indicating that the purpose of the school was to teach the boys to live with other people. ('It's to teach you to think of other people besides yourself.') Six responses.

* The value of the trade training available at Whitegate for securing apprenticeships or lucrative jobs appeared to be exaggerated by the boys and possibly by the staff too. Postrelease histories indicated that only a very small proportion of boys obtained such employment. But when asked about their intended jobs as many as fifty-four of the seventy-seven boys answered in terms of skilled employment. This belief in the importance of trade training may have served an important function in making the boys believe that their being at Whitegate had a 'purpose' and thus maintaining the internal stability of the school.

6. To act as a deterrent. ('To give you a taste of what might happen if you carry on screwing.') Five responses.
7. For academic education. ('So that lads can learn in small classes.') Four responses.

Two boys answered in decidedly functional terms: 'Well if they didn't have a place like this all the staff would be out of a job.' And one solitary boy came close to the official ideology of the school with 'to learn you about yourself and why you get into trouble'.

From the above responses it is evident that the boys' perceptions of the 'purpose' of Whitegate differed fundamentally from the official definition of that 'purpose'. However, only a small proportion of the boys believed that their being at Whitegate should be seen in primarily negative, i.e. punishment, terms. The majority saw the 'purpose' of the school as a positive one: for many it served the function of 'training' or conditioning them not to be involved in further delinquent activity, or the more specific function of training them for a job on their release.

Along with this definition of Whitegate's function as primarily to stop boys being involved in delinquent activity went a belief that a 'stigma' was attached to such schools:

'I don't think people trust you when you've been to a place like this. The police are always on you when you come out.'

'When you get to work they'll often try tricks on a boy who has been to approved school. Like they'll leave purses hanging around to see if you'll go round nicking them. This happened to a mate of mine. He just took the purse to the manager who was amazed.'

Impact of the school

Besides obtaining an indication of the boys' general perception of the residential situation and the 'purpose' they saw Whitegate serving, it was also considered important to discover what impact the boys saw the school having on them. The official policy of the school was that it should help individual boys to overcome the many disadvantages which they had encountered in their home environment, and so it seemed appropriate to ask the boys themselves if they saw their stay at the school as benefiting them. The seventy-seven boys were asked: 'How much would you say your stay at Whitegate is helping you?' Fifty-two boys said they thought the school was 'helping' them. In the interviews the boys were also asked to explain why they had answered in the way they did. Again this question

was left unstructured but it was possible to categorise the responses into a general framework. One boy who was newly arrived, although believing the school was helping him could not articulate why, and so the following list is based on the eighty-five responses of the fifty-one boys who could articulate why they had answered either 'quite a bit' or 'a lot'. Again typical responses for each category are given in brackets:

1. Responses indicating that the major benefit the boy felt he was deriving from the residential situation was being trained for a specific job. ('I've learned a lot about decorating. I'll get a good job when I get outside.') Twenty-five responses.
2. Responses indicating that the school was serving a deterrent function for them. ('I know what will happen to me if I get caught again. I'll be sent back in here.') Eleven responses.
3. Responses indicating that the boy derived benefit from the specific educational opportunities the school offered. ('I've learnt a lot of school stuff here. I didn't learn anything outside.') In this category were also placed several responses from boys with a history of truancy who indicated that they had benefited from Whitegate because they had been placed in a situation where they went to school without any 'trouble'. Eleven responses.
4. Responses indicating that the boys perceived they were being 'trained' so that they would not continue to be involved in delinquent activity on their release. ('It's learning me not to nick things.') * Ten responses.
5. Responses indicating that the boy was benefiting from the residential situation because he was being kept away from a situation in which he might be involved in delinquent activity. ('It's keeping me out of trouble because I can't knock around with my mates outside.') Six responses.
6. Responses indicating that the boy's being kept at Whitegate was improving either his general home situation or more specifically his relationship with his parents. ('Before I came here I used to have arguments with my mother but now it's stopped. I treat her much better now.') Four responses.
7. Responses indicating that the boy derived benefit from the sporting activities offered by the school. ('It's taught me a lot of new sports: I'm going to carry on playing them when I leave.') Four responses.
8. Responses indicating that the boy was benefiting from the residential situation because it was helping him to live with other people. ('It's helping me to think of others.') Two responses.

* The distinction between categories 2 and 4 is obviously not clearcut.

9. Responses indicating that the school staff had helped the boy gain insight into the reasons for his delinquent activity. ('It's taught me a lot about why I get into trouble.') Two responses.
10. Responses indicating that being at Whitegate had made the boy accept punishment. ('It's taught me to take it like a man.') Two responses.
11. Responses that mentioned a variety of benefits such as (i) improvement in manners; (ii) keeping a neat and tidy appearance; (iii) stopping smoking. Eight responses.

In general terms the findings from this question indicate therefore that the boys saw the impact of the school as being a positive one.

Gaining release

The findings reported above show that the boys did not regard their daily life at Whitegate as being highly unpleasant.

However, in spite of this and partly as a result of their traditional perspectives on the purpose of the school, the boys were strongly motivated to gain release. The informal conversations that the researcher had with the boys and the comments made in the research interviews indicated that 'getting out' was their primary concern. In spite of unsatisfactory home environments the majority of the boys wished to leave Whitegate as quickly and as painlessly as possible. These boys had been sent to the school against their wishes and although life in the school was seen as relatively pleasant (in comparison with expectations) they looked forward intently to the time when they could once again 'lead a normal life'. One important aspect of this was that as a result of relatively frequent contact with the outside community and the comparatively short length of stay at Whitegate the boys maintained a constant image of life 'outside'.

A definition of the Whitegate situation

On the basis of the above responses and others described in the complete study it was possible to distinguish a characteristic 'definition of the situation' that a high proportion of the boys adopted towards their stay at Whitegate:

1. The boy expects the school to be physically highly unpleasant. In particular he expects facilities to be bad, the staff to be strict disciplinarians and there to be a high level of security.

2. He regards his being sent to the school as legitimate. He sees his committal as a direct consequence of his delinquent activity.
3. But on arrival he finds daily life in the school relatively pleasant, particularly in terms of material facilities, discipline and security.
4. Although he does not respond to them with hostility he recognises a relatively high degree of 'social distance' between himself and the staff at the school.
5. In spite of this he continues to interpret his being at the school primarily in terms of his delinquent activity (i.e. he sees the purpose of the school as 'training' him not to commit delinquent acts, giving him a trade so that he need not commit delinquent acts, keeping him away from 'temptation', etc.).
6. He sees the impact of the school as being a positive (i.e. training) rather than a negative one (i.e. punishment).
7. He wishes to gain release from the school as soon as possible.

The boys therefore reinterpreted the Whitegate experience to fit in with their preconceived ideas about the purpose that such a school should serve. They defined it not in terms of their disorganised social backgrounds but primarily in terms of their delinquent activity. This was clearly at variance with the way in which the school was seen by those who ran it, and in the next section I want to look at some of the behavioural consequences of this definition.

ADAPTATIONS TO WHITEGATE

The boys at Whitegate were all facing a similar experience. They had been removed from their homes and placed in a new environment. With this environment went a new set of relationships and exposure to a different set of values.

Their new situation was 'total', to the extent that it involved relatively continuous patterns of interaction with like-situated individuals. Indeed the very fact of living in close contact with a group of boys in one house unit made this interaction more intensive. And during the time they were at the school the status of the young offender undergoing residential treatment was all-pervasive. Although they could, of course, behave in 'conventional' ways their behaviour was carried out entirely within the defining context of the residential institution.

Matza makes the point that 'delinquency is a status and delinquents are incumbents who intermittently act out a role'. When we focus on the incumbents rather than the status, we find that most are perfectly capable of conventional activity. Thus delinquents intermittently play both

delinquent and conventional roles. But in the case of young offenders undergoing residential treatment the position is somewhat different. Not only is their status well defined: so also are their role expectations. They are apart from society and regard themselves as such. Their behaviour is seen both by themselves and others in this clearly defined context. Yet at the same time residential treatment does not take place in a vacuum. The boys comes to the situation with expectations and past experiences and are very aware that they will return to the environments from which they came. Thus their behaviour itself must be seen in its institutional context, but it must also be seen as being influenced by past and future orientations.

The majority of the boys at Whitegate wished to leave the school as quickly as possible. But they believed that gaining their release necessitated a positive 'effort' on their part. I asked the seventy-seven boys: 'Some people say that boys at Whitegate are just interested in doing their time and not doing their best; does this describe your attitude?' The response to this question showed that only seventeen of the seventy-seven boys took a markedly passive attitude towards the school in as much as they were simply concerned with 'doing their time'. The remainder said they were putting an 'effort' into doing their 'best'.

'You can't do your time because you'll never get out. In the end you've got to do your best.'

'You've got to do your best. If you do your time here that's three years and you'll be sent to a senior school. Then if you do your time there you'll be sent to a borstal.'

'It's up to me how long I do. If I just think about doing my time, then I won't do my best and I'll never get out. I'll try my best and get my licence when I'm fifteen.'

'Most of the lads work to get out: you do get a couple of head cases who're not really worried, but it's not many.'

The seventy-seven boys were also asked, 'What do you think of a boy who does what the staff tell him to?' Again using a precoded question fifty-six boys said they 'respected a boy who does what the staff tell him to', sixteen were uncertain and only five said they did not 'respect' him. Of the fifty-six boys who replied that they did respect such a boy, thirty-seven said it was because he was 'trying to get out quick':

'Some people call them 'mugs' or 'suckers' but I think they're doing the right thing. I've called them 'suckers' but I still respect them. They know what they want and that's to get out.'

'There's a lad in our house who's doing just that and he's going out soon.'

'He's got some sense. That's the way to get out, do what the staff tell you to and don't answer back.'

'Good luck to him. When . . . was here he looked after himself and he got on his way.'

To gain an idea of exactly what the boys thought would give them an early release, each of the seventy-seven boys was also asked: 'If you want to get out of Whitegate as quickly as possible, what is the best way to go about it?' Answers to this question were left unstructured (resulting in several replies of 'out the main gate and down the road, it's easy'), but it was possible to abstract six categories of response. A total of 189 responses were given by the seventy-seven boys to this question, of which 179 could be placed in the following categories:

1. Responses indicating that gaining an early release necessitated 'obeying' the staff at Whitegate. Included in this category were those boys who said that it was necessary to 'behave yourself' (twenty-six boys) or be 'respectful' towards the staff (thirteen boys). Sixty-eight responses.
2. Responses indicating the necessity not to be involved in specific acts of misconduct (e.g. absconding, smoking, stealing, etc.). Thirty-three responses.
3. Responses indicating the necessity to be selective in terms of peer group relations. Thirty-three responses.
4. Responses indicating the necessity to work hard at the jobs in the school to which the boy had been allocated. Twenty-nine responses.
5. Responses indicating the necessity to 'confide' in the staff, and be friendly with the staff. Nine responses.
6. Responses indicating the necessity to have only limited contact with the staff. Seven responses.

Because of the importance of these responses in terms of understanding the boys' behaviour at Whitegate some examples of individual responses follow:

'You've got to behave yourself and earn your way out.' (Category 1.)

'You've got to behave and not mess about. Keep quiet and be helpful to the staff.' (Category 1.)

'Do exactly what you're told. Don't do what the boys tell you to unless the staff says it's OK and don't bunk it.' (Categories 1 and 2.)

'Do as well as you can. If they tell you to do something then do it. Don't smoke unless you're sure you won't be caught. And you've got to do your jobs well.' (Categories 1, 2, and 4.)

'Keep out of trouble. Keep on the right side of staff and if you're told to do something then do it. Do more of your fair share of work and you'll soon be on your way.' (Categories 1 and 4.)

'If any of the staff tell you to do something, then you do it straight away. When the teacher tells you to shut up then you shut up. If they give you something to do, don't take your time about it. Make sure you do it quick.' (Category 1.)

'It's work that gets your release out of here quick. Both your work in the house and in the school.' (Category 4.)

'Do what you're told: that covers everything because you'll get told what to do.' (Category 1.)

'Don't get in old ...'s class. It's always "attitude" in there. If your attitudes are no good you'll never get out. If you get shouted at by staff don't answer back. Don't smoke. Don't swear and don't abscond.' (Categories 1 and 2.)

'Do what the staff tell you to. Help them. Trust them and let them trust you.' (Categories 1 and 5.)

'Keep yourself to yourself and keep away from the staff. If the staff don't want you to do anything then don't go round asking. It's easy to become too familiar with them and that leads to trouble.' (Category 6.)

The above responses relate primarily to the necessary attitudes to, and behaviour with, staff members in order to gain an early release. Again it can be seen that institutional conformity in terms of 'obeying' the staff not 'misbehaving' and 'working hard' were regarded as of major significance by the seventy-seven boys.

But the responses placed in category 3 are of particular importance in understanding the boys' behaviour at Whitegate. Thirty-three of the seventy-seven boys volunteered the opinion that it was necessary to be selective with one's peer group associations. The following are examples of responses that fell into this category:

'Some lads will put you on the right track, others won't. In our house you've got to keep clear of ... and ... and ...'

'Keep out of the way of the lads who make you get cigs for them. Don't mix with them, they'll bring you bother.'

'Stay away from the boys that smoke. Make sure that you make good friends. Don't hang around with the bullies because they can get you into trouble.'

'Got to have lads in your favour before you can get on with the staff.'

'Got to get on with the other lads first. If you come straight away and start sucking around the staff, the boys will think you're a sucker and so they'll smash you up. And if you get smashed up you get trouble.'

The responses to this question also gave some evidence of the need for certain manipulative techniques in relation to both boys and staff if the boy was to gain an early release. Of particular interest in this context was the frequent use of the term 'sucking'. From responses to various interview questions the term 'sucking' can be defined in the following way in the context of staff-boy relations at Whitegate. It involved (a) resigned acceptance of staff criticism; (b) giving the staff the impression of 'making an effort' or 'making progress'; (c) bringing acceptable behaviour to the attention of staff and keeping from their attention unacceptable behaviour. Some interview responses can be used to amplify this definition:

'A sucker is someone who asks for a job. Every time he's done one job he asks for another. He's always hanging around the staff.'

'A sucker is someone who tries to impress the staff. But when their backs are turned he doesn't do what they've told him to do.'

'Yes sir, no sir, and all that: that's what the lads call a sucker.'

As an illustration of 'sucking' behaviour it is interesting to note the case of a boy who gained release during the research period. Another boy described the way he operated:

'He used to grease around the staff all the time. Like at camp he'd be first up and bring all the staff a cup of tea in bed. Then he'd be round the back for his first smoke.'

A further illustration was given by the same boy:

'It takes about a month to get in with the lads, then you can do a bit of sucking around the staff. Clean their cars, do a bit of gardening and things like that.'

In this context, of particular interest in view of the official policies of the school was the reply of one highly intelligent fourteen-year-old boy:

'All you gotta do is think up some problems and tell the staff. Like problems about your family and that. Then they sort them out for you and they think you're getting better.'

But this response was not typical. The majority of the boys did not show this sophisticated skill at 'working the system'.

Finally, some aspects of 'sucking' behaviour were of course unpopular with other boys. For instance:

'Suckers will snitch on you. They'll say to themselves, I'll snitch on him and get a good suck . . . done that to me on the cross-country run when I cut off half the course. He told Mr . . . and he battered me.'

And there was evidence that before a boy could indulge in sucking he had to have the support of the 'other lads':

'Can't just come into the school as a new lad and start sucking around the staff, because the lads start stirring it for you.'

All these interview responses therefore indicate that good behaviour and obeying the staff were felt to be necessary in order to gain release, and that in some circumstances the boy had to make a positive effort to bring these aspects of his behaviour to the attention of the staff at Whitegate.

Like all institutions Whitegate had undercurrents of illegitimate behaviour. The importance of this was not so much that it happened but the way in which it was regarded by the boys. For some boys it obviously offered intrinsic satisfactions, but it also appeared to be the primary means of 'keeping in with lads'. To survive at Whitegate a boy had in some ways to lead a 'double life'. On the one hand he had to give the impression to the staff of complying with staff demands. On the other hand he had to maintain the support of the boys to do this. And being involved in illegitimate activity was an important way of winning such support:

'When I first came I met up with a few of the lads I'd known at . . . (classifying school). I had a few smokes with them and got on well with them again. Then after a month I was popular with the boys and so I could start a bit of sucking with the staff.'

'Don't get involved in anything wrong. You've got to try and shirk away from the other lads if they're doing things wrong 'cause you'll get into trouble. But don't let the lads know you're shirking away from it.'

'That's all they smoke for: just to show they're hard. I never used to smoke till I came here. But I took it up when I came.'

'I've not had much improvement because I don't get on with the lads. The lads get me in a bad temper then I go off on my own. Then the staff say I'm sulky.'

The 'other lads' could thus bring sanctions against an unpopular boy by making it difficult for him to give the impression to the staff of 'settling down' or 'making progress'. Possibly the most effective sanction that the boys had in their power was to make an individual boy's life so unpleasant that he absconded (thus making it impossible for him to give the impression of 'settling down'). The following is from a letter written to the headmaster by a boy who had absconded immediately before this research began:

I think you would like to know why I ran away. It was all through Freddie Evans. Every night I went to bed he used to come in with his little gange (*sic*) which are Boyle, Parker and Smith. Evans started going into my room and playing cards with Boyle, then Parker came in and started playing Germans in his baby way. He started saying let's integrate (*sic*) him. Smith put his nose into it and went into the bedrooms and got a gange together. They would come in and Evans would say hold him down, and he'd start slapping me and calling me a chink, a Chinese rat. This was going on for quite a few nights so I ran away.

In terms of the central question of adaptation to the school, therefore, the behaviour which characterised many of the boys at Whitegate can be summarised in the following way:

1. To gain an early release it was necessary to accept the situation as it was found and proceed through the normal channels (most importantly the grades) to a position in which the boy could be considered for release.
2. This necessitated the boy giving the staff the impression that he was 'making an effort' or 'earning his way out'.
3. But the boys could bring effective sanctions into operation against an unpopular boy and so it was necessary to have their support in order to be in a position to make a favourable impression on the staff.

Thus the boys redefined the school experience in their own terms and so partially neutralised its effect on them. The boys were in a position they would have preferred not to face. This was a natural extension not only of their being away from home but also of their more traditional perspectives of residential treatment. But in order to leave that situation they believed they had to comply with the standards expected by the staff members, and this became the guideline for their behaviour in the school.

Although the staff realised the dangers of the boys' equating conformity with an early release, much of what happened at Whitegate supported the boys' belief. Occasionally the point was made explicit by staff members:

I would like to impress upon Gordon the fact that he himself determines the length of his stay at Whitegate and that at the present time his progress is being retarded by his association with the more irresponsible boys in the school. (Report.)

Mr . . . feels that if John made a concerted effort, together with a desire to grow up, he could do well and be on his way fairly quickly. (Report.)

And several boys reported being told to 'play their cards right and be out by fifteen' or that 'It's more important to get out than to have friends'.

But more importantly the system of grades indirectly supported the belief amongst the boys that 'good behaviour' led to an early release. The usual methods of maintaining power in a correctional situation such as demanding obedience and immediate compliance, maintaining a high social distance and conducting rituals of deference and degradation were at variance with the official policies for Whitegate. Even those methods of coercive control sanctioned officially, such as caning, were used very rarely at the school.

The problem therefore for staff was to maintain control without the use of a formal punishment system. The ultimate deterrent in this situation was removal to another school. This proved effective when it was used. But obviously the impact of this threat was the greater the less it was used. The staff were therefore in a position in which they had to stress to the boys that they were at the school for an indeterminate length of time and could go home only after they had made 'progress', and impressed everyone that they could 'behave'. Here the emphasis placed on the grading system by the staff was of central importance. The boys believed that 'if you get your grades you'll soon be on your way' and the staff by their emphasis on the grading system (a commonly used exhortation was 'that's not the behaviour we expect from a grade 2 boy') * appeared to the boys to support this belief.

The staff used the grading system as an important way of maintaining order and the boys attached great significance to it because it offered the only tangible indication of how near they were to release. The central functional significance of this is best indicated by the boy who said: 'If

* There were four grades at Whitegate. Being placed in grade 2 (grade 1 was the highest) indicated the boy was nearing his date of release.

they said you were going to be here for exactly three years, you'd do as you wanted. You'd run the school, smoke and smash things. You'd get worse.'

In this article only one aspect of behaviour within the school has been concentrated on. There were, of course, other reactions to the school. The boy who on the first night of the researcher's stay in the school barricaded himself in one of the house unit rooms could hardly be said to be adapting himself to the school in this characteristic way! Nor indeed could the boy who absconded thirteen times during the research period. It is, however, interesting to note that both these boys were regarded as 'head cases' by the 'other lads'. Of interest too is the fact that the first boy was removed from the school after a further court appearance for offences committed whilst an absconder and the second boy was threatened with removal to a school 'somewhere in Devon' (Whitegate was a long way from Devon).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of my study was to illuminate the social dynamics of an individual residential situation. An attempt was made to capture the perspectives of the different 'actors' at Whitegate and to see how these perspectives complemented each other to make community life at the school possible. More particularly the purpose of the study was to describe the situation through the words of the boys for whom it existed. This was done in the belief that too many researchers in the past have too readily accepted society's definition of these boys as being inarticulate and fit only to be 'trained' or 'moulded', and as a consequence have conducted highly artificial studies which have allowed no scope for the thoughts or feelings of the objects of study.

I have obviously not intended to make a personal criticism of the staff at Whitegate. But to talk about the 'family life' of the school and to look at Whitegate as anything other than an abnormal society is to evade the problem. To the boys for whom it operated Whitegate was a place where young offenders were sent. Heated swimming pools, floodlit playgrounds, late television and relaxed staff-boy relations were of course important, but their efforts were superimposed on to this more fundamental definition. The residential experience therefore cannot be seen within a vacuum. The adaptations that the boys made at Whitegate were in many ways an extension of those they had made in their home environment. In particular they were an extension of the attitudes and adaptations they adopted in their home lives to the representatives of authority. The school in spite of being residential was not a world of its own.

Twenty years ago Gittins (1952) wrote:

The constant problem of training is to prevent the formation of behaviour which is merely a veneer and in this the approved schools labour under a major disability. The great desire of the boy is to get out, to go on licence. To achieve this he seeks to exhibit a socially acceptable pattern of behaviour yet, valuable as the resultant habit training may be, if the essential attitudes remain the training is basically ineffective.

In spite of expensive buildings, staff training and research programmes, and the development of a new treatment ideology, the same problem, if in a rather different form, faces such schools today.

The likelihood is that this problem will continue to face schools like Whitegate in the future. In spite of new legislation and new ideas the same boys with the same background experiences and difficulties will be arriving at residential schools. And it is likely that in spite of official declarations about major changes in the residential provision for young offenders our former approved schools will continue to function in similar ways.

It is not possible to change the nature of an institution and its perceived function by changing either its name or the type of order under which a child is placed in it. Tradition, the previous experiences and training of staff, and society's expectations may make it impossible for the former approved schools to be thought of as anything other than places where young offenders are 'trained'.

If then in terms of basic organisation and operation Whitegate is to remain roughly similar to what it has been in previous years then the problem of this school and others like it must be seen first of all as one of combating the effects of the 'traditional' definitions and 'traditional' behaviour which have been suggested in this study. This is, of course, part of the far wider and more basic problem facing our residential schools: that of making the boy's experience within the residential setting meaningful in terms of the situation from which he has come and to which he must return.

Possibly one of the greatest disadvantages the schools operate under in tackling this problem lies in the extreme difference between the physical environment of the school and that of the boy's home community. The difference between the daily existences of the boys at Whitegate and their age-mates at home is immense. In the one environment there is often a lack of material provision and external organisation, in the other there is plenty of both. Of course it has traditionally been one of the justifications of places like Whitegate that order and material provision have a highly beneficial effect on the young offender. But comparing the two situations, it is entirely understandable that the boy taken away to a school in the

country in a fashionable upper-middle-class residential area reacts to it in a way as if it is 'unreal'. He considers it to be an interlude in the real business of living. It is a situation to which he brings his own standards and those of his family and friends and then has to go through the perplexing process of watching these standards being implicitly attacked.

The real challenge, of course, lies in attacking the social and material deprivations that face many of our children and adolescents in open society. And of course the obvious answer to why approved schools are no longer 'successful' is that society and the role of adolescents in it have changed so completely since the 1930s. This argument should not be used to justify a failure to rethink what happens inside the approved schools. But here the problem is again one of relationships. Wills (1971), in commenting upon the 1969 legislation, has said: 'Our new Act swings the pendulum again to concern for the individual child because quite apart from any humane considerations, it is seen that only through loving concern for the individual child can the growth of a delinquent minority be prevented.' But 'loving concern' cannot be built into a system, nor can it be produced by legislation. The purpose of this study has been to suggest some of the basic definitional and behavioural reasons why the former approved schools are going to face difficulties in producing these relationships.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I should like to thank the staff and boys at Whitegate School for their hospitality and assistance. In particular, the headmaster of the school was of very great help at all stages of the study.

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Borstal training: its history, achievements and prospects

David Lawson

The borstal system must now be regarded as being in a state of eclipse. Its high hopes and fine achievements are now penological history and it seems that contemporary opinion is turning more towards other methods of dealing with the older adolescent offenders. However, few, if any, training programmes have had the success that borstal maintained during its heyday, and it is worth while considering why this was so, and why in recent years the same approach has been so much less successful. The author of this article, who writes from his own experience as a borstal housemaster, traces the evolution of borstal training and indicates how various developments within the larger penal system owe much of their impetus to experiments which were earlier pioneered in certain selected borstal institutions.

The story of borstal is one of continuing change, each phase testifying to the swinging balance of public opinion between the hope of reform and the pessimism of punishment, these attitudes occurring also, if not always in phase, in the ranks of those who manned the service.

The prevailing swing in these crime-bedevelled days is one of pessimism, and the changes wrought over the last decade could be seen as an abandonment of the ideals which once ran so high and had the protagonists of borstal believing that they had found a way to cut the causal process by which criminal careers are shaped. As the policies for offenders in their late teens become more severe, they present an odd contrast to the permissive treatment offered these in early adolescence, made possible by the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, almost a case of the right hand (of the legislator) not knowing what the left is doing. This article, however, is concerned with the changing borstal scene and not with the issue of the consistency of penal policy.

It was at the turn of the century that the spirit of optimism generated by the deliberations of the 1895 Gladstone Committee found expression in what today must be seen as the elementary step of separation of the young offender from the older, hardened inmates of prisons. That so little was attempted at the outset — strict classification, hard work and simple schooling of the small numbers chosen for the early experiments — may reflect the strength² of the opposition to reform, and makes all the more remarkable the public support which attended the innovators of 'the Paterson era'.

Alex Paterson, a public school product and a graduate of Oxford, had worked for twenty years in the slums of East London before being recruited to the Prison Commission in 1922 and given special responsibility for the training of borstal boys. His work with the Borstal Association on behalf of discharged borstal boys had led him to a conviction that any training of young people had to stir qualities within the person rather than merely mould him to a conformity with rules and routines. Prior to the First World War there had been some indication of a liberalising of the borstal system, but the institution which confronted Paterson on his appointment was one in which the custodial and disciplinary aspects were heavily stressed. He saw the need for an infusion of new blood into this near-military organisation for which he had become responsible and found the answer in the expansion of the grade of tutor, a function established in a favourable phase, just before the outbreak of war. He increased their number, and before long, their authority. By selecting well-educated, upper- and middle-class young men, many of them with public school backgrounds, and all enthused with his passion for reform, he created a powerful group of innovators, his housemasters, confident of the character-building virtues of the public school ethos and prepared to transit what they could of it to these young offenders. The end product would, of course, be different, they were not planning to produce leaders of the nation from their low-status charges, rather seeking to set them on the path to becoming good, reliable working men. As the Governor of Rochester declared in the first issue of the institution's magazine, 'It's no use asking a carthorse to win the Derby, but he can win a ploughing match with equal credit. So realise your limitations and don't set out to equal those whose lives lead to higher spheres.'

The establishment of the house system was perhaps the most significant change among the many occurring in the mid-1920s, but other features which characterised the later borstal struck root in this period. The educational aspect was given greater emphasis and spilled over into the development of libraries, of interest groups and institutional magazines, while the encouragement of hobbies and games led to the further gain of contact

with interest groups on the outside. Work remained the central element of the borstal day, but now opportunities were sought outside the wall. It speaks of a high confidence in his policies that Paterson was so eager to bring his young offenders into closer touch with the public, but he saw it as necessary to break down the isolation of the penal institution and to establish contact with the larger community wherever possible. Evidence of assurance in the handling of lads within the institution had the linked benefit of reducing public wariness of his borstal boys, so that his taking officers out of uniform, appointing matrons, allowing boys close to discharge to attend summer camps and sports groups to meet their counterparts outside, not only relaxed tensions inside the wall but helped the public to form a more relaxed view of the borstal inmate. Moreover, Paterson and his backers enjoyed, in the main, a sympathetic Press and a large measure of support from liberal opinion in the country.

Up to this time the borstal system had had to operate within former prisons. In 1931 Paterson judged that the time was ripe for the great experiment of training borstal boys in open conditions, and he ensured dramatic impact by having his selected boys march from Feltham Borstal in Middlesex to Lowdham Grange in Nottinghamshire. Here under skilled instructors they set about constructing the permanent buildings of a borstal without a wall. In 1934 his second venture was scarcely less impressive when he established the second open borstal on the coast of Lincoln staffed, apart from an officer cook, only by housemasters, one to each fifteen boys. He was fortunate to be able to call on the services of a group of well-educated young men prepared to share the hardships of life and work on the salt marshes; and the boys too were lucky to find representatives of a favoured class who were willing to share so completely the rough and the smooth of hard manual work and austere living conditions. And, adding to the prestige of borstal these young law-breakers were engaged in a significant public task, reclaiming farming land from the sea. It will be contended later that Paterson's work was made easier by the rigours of life faced by ordinary people at this time, and the relatively low level of crime which is a feature of a period of sustained economic depression, but he must be given credit for recognising opportunities and taking such masterly advantage of them.

Not only had the public to be persuaded of the merit of changing emphasis from external discipline to inner self-control, the discipline staff, the ordinary officers of borstal, could hardly be blamed for fearing that their authority was being undermined. At the same time, both their prospects of promotion and the opportunity of a more interesting role within the institution were being frustrated by the development of the housemaster/assistant governor position, with its recruits drawn from

outside the service. However, as the North Sea Camp venture amply illustrated, the housemaster function was no sinecure; Paterson demanded a high level of commitment and officers could see the extent of demands made. Their lack of effective opposition to the changes may be an indication of the ability of Paterson to convince them that everyone would benefit eventually from a revitalised borstal system; more likely they thought it better to hold on to their jobs in a time of scarce employment even in the face of diminishing returns. Nevertheless, it is an issue not yet resolved that discipline staff are still handicapped in their expectations of promotion and in terms of job satisfaction.

The 1930s have been described as 'the Golden Age' of borstal. Each advance along the liberal path seemed accompanied by a parallel increase in the success rate. Six out of ten borstal boys were avoiding reconviction in the years following discharge, and of the first lapse that were excluded no less than eight out of ten did not offend again. This, in a system so far ahead of its time in respect of the trust and freedom extended to its charges was an impressive performance and seemed a full vindication of the principles on which it was founded.

With the Second World War the dynamic of borstal was harshly arrested and the tradition that had been so patiently constructed was dissipated and lost as institutions closed, as senior boys were discharged to play their part in the war effort and as officers and housemasters were called up to the Forces. It may be thought today, when no more than three or four escape reconviction, that borstal is now a spent force, an institution which never recovered from this dismantling process. But a close examination of its structure and policies provide no evidence of inferior resources; indeed, in every respect organisation and staffing have been steadily improved. There is more specialist staff, more information is available on inmates, the system can draw on refined theories of diagnosis and treatment and the aftercare arrangements are better integrated. What is utterly different is the nature of the society from which its inmates are drawn.

Our present generation of young people cannot appreciate the fear and hardship associated with unemployment and the means test. They may still be patches of poverty in our Welfare State, but the unburdened teenager is the person least likely to be affected. He has a different view of his place in society these days when so much attention is paid to this impressionable, free-spending section of the community, when the teens are seen as a consummation, with the later years a sad decline from this halcyon period. The working-class teenager of today sees the years to the early twenties as the time of greatest intensity of living and grudges any time not spent in pursuit of personal satisfactions. His committal to borstal represents a snatching from the feast, and a transition from the

autonomous, assertive, insouciant group to becoming a unit in a dependent, manipulated mass. At a time when the traditional paternalist class system carries little weight with the majority of citizens, there are few less likely to defer to those better placed on the social scale than the type of lad committed to borstal.

It was so different before the war. Working-class aspirations were modest then, and in those days of scant opportunity for everyone the teenager of that stratum was little regarded; nor did he expect much from society. He was inclined to be deferential to persons in authority, especially to someone of higher social class met in a structured situation which emphasised their relative statuses. This is how he encountered the house-master, a man prepared to take a personal interest in him, not by any means a characteristic he would have noticed previously in his betters. This surely was one of the advantages enjoyed by Paterson and which may have masked the ultimate irrelevance of his public school model for an overwhelmingly working-class inmate population.

At this point it would seem appropriate to consider what borstal has in store for the young men who have been committed for this form of training, and if we are to look for a continuity with the Paterson ideal it is probably necessary these days to view the open and the closed borstals as essentially different institutions. Though it is usual to speak of borstal training as a single, uniform process, the system of allocation which separates the newcomers into the more tractable and the less provides a set of different expectations of each and makes almost inevitable a decided contrast in regime. This is accentuated by the difference in physical setting, for while the open institutions have been housed in wartime service camps or, more comfortably, in large country mansions, the closed borstals have been established mainly in former prisons.

The decision on whether a lad should be sent to an open or a closed borstal is taken at one of the two allocation centres, Wormwood Scrubs Prison serving the South and Manchester Prison the North. Each newly committed trainee passes through a range of interviews and tests, the results of which are considered alongside the other reports which have come from the court hearing, to decide to which borstal he should go. That the main decision will be whether training shall take place in the open or behind walls reveals the sensitivity of the Prison Department to public opinion. Violence and sex offences predispose to a closed allocation as does any indication of an abscond risk, for every absconder is liable to commit burglary or theft when on the run.

Apart from this major decision, allocation reflects a regional policy intended to sustain contact with the home and with the local probation

service, but there is still enough variety of institutions within most regions for factors such as age, intelligence, emotional stability, criminal sophistication and vocational needs to have some relevance. It may be, however, as this regional policy is given more general application, that this elaborate system of screening of trainees will come to have less relevance for allocation and will concentrate rather on providing the training borstal with as much information on each trainee as is needed to prescribe an individual treatment for each; now that, in late autumn 1973, there are signs of a lessening of the pressure of numbers, this idea of a casework approach may not be too optimistic.

Whether he is sent to an open or closed borstal a trainee is under an indeterminate sentence of from six months to two years, followed on discharge by two years of aftercare. His desire to obtain discharge is likely to emerge as the strongest incentive of his stay, if earlier evidence is to be believed, but of recent years the sheer pressure of numbers has tended to make the institution less demanding in terms of the standards to be attained before release is granted and, ironically, this has meant earlier discharge from the closed borstals where, it tends to be acknowledged, less training can be provided.

There are common features to all borstals, of course. The trainee will be roused at 6.30 am (earlier if working in the kitchens), he may have some exercise, will wash, and will clean his dormitory or cell before breakfast at 7 am. He will parade for work at 7.45 am, when officers can check that all are present, and he should be at his workplace as soon after as is possible. He will work to noon apart from a ten minute break, and will return to the workplace to clean up for the midday (main) meal. He will parade for work again just before 1 pm, when heads will again be counted, a necessary process in a custodial establishment, and he will work to about 4.30 pm, changing for tea at 5 pm. By 6.50 pm he will muster for evening classes in the educational subjects and hobbies held on four nights of the week, and he will be sitting down to his bun and cocoa supper by 8.30 pm. He will be expected to be in bed by 9.30 pm and lights go off at 10 pm after which the quiet borstal will be watched over by civilian night patrols until the day's cycle resumes at 6.30 am next morning. There is work on Saturday mornings and church on Sunday mornings, and the afternoons are available for sports and physical activities. Here the open borstals enjoy great advantages, when walks or cycle rides can augment their already greater freedom in travelling to football, rugby or cricket fixtures outside the institution.

The range of work and of vocational training courses available, varies between borstals with the open institutions again enjoying considerable advantage. Working or learning a skill the lad is now under scrutiny and his

performance can have a significance for what he earns and how quickly he passes through his grades to discharge. To speak of what he earns will have a hollow ring to any borstal trainee, for it is measured in pennies rather than pounds, but if he wants to have tobacco, sweets or the like it is the only permitted way of obtaining money with which to buy these items from the borstal shop. This is the monetary incentive to work, pathetic though it may be, but there is also a control element much greater than the lads have been accustomed to. Many reach borstal with appalling work records. They are now unable to walk off the job in a tantrum or evade the consequences of bad work, and, even if the ordinary rewards or penalties of the work situation on the outside may not exist, there is enough pressure of circumstances to make it more agreeable to work than to dodge. How far this establishes the habit of working is questionable but it keeps the institution ticking over and the lads occupied. But the actual work done again emphasises the contrast between the open and closed borstals. The open institutions frequently have grounds of their own to tend with gardens and nurseries absorbing labour, some even have cattle to care for. And since they have a more trustworthy type of trainee they can more confidently make arrangements for outworking on farms or in local industries. Closed borstals tend to be restricted to workshop tasks of no great interest and still too often have to resort to the miserable task of metal recovery, i.e. cable stripping and meter dismantling.

There need be little difference in the classes offered in the two types of institution, but it is very much easier for a teacher to arrange to take his class out to an external event such as a concert, a play or an exhibition when he has, in the open borstal, a more reliable set of trainees to deal with. Incidentally these teachers and instructors, bringing a breath of the outside world into their circumscribed environment, enjoy the approval of the lads on this account alone. Borstals have long recognised the benefit of such ties and seek to arrange contact, with outside organisations wherever this is practicable, indeed, a main advantage in the swing to a regional policy of allocation is thought to be in the possibility of enhancement of community ties. It is hoped to earn credits for the borstal by using the lads to perform neighbourly acts where need exists in the local community. This is not a new practice, for governors have long encouraged forms of public service such as helping the aged and the handicapped, but there may be special meaning in these tasks for the lads that they are giving service to people for whom they can feel a special affinity. While this policy can probably be more flexibly operated by the open borstals because of the greater reliability of their trainees and because extending trust to them comes more readily since it is in accord with their normal practices, one can see that if the same opportunity of service is given to the tougher lads

of the closed institution, and they respond to the trust, it will have favourable repercussions on attitudes back in the borstal. But both institutions stand to gain considerably from the opportunity of an increased coordination of effort between the borstal and the local probation service in the improvement of aftercare arrangements, 'throughcare' it is now called with some justification. There has been a drawing together of the institution and the probation Service, with collaboration on such matters as pre-discharge groups, 'workshops' which aim broadly at some form of social reassessment, and arrangements for the continuation of group meetings after trainees have returned to their home areas.

This closer interaction between training institution and the aftercare system represents a progressive development but, such refinements apart, there has been little departure from the original formula for borstal training — segregation from adult offenders, hard work and simple schooling — in the sixty-odd years of its existence. These are natural features of any institution concerned with the character training of young people; what distinguishes the present pattern from the original relates to the form and variety of the separate elements and the general atmosphere obtaining. Paterson took the simple formula, linked it to the public school ethos and added his own innovatory ideas, producing the special blend which has survived to the present. The results in the 1930s were so favourable that it seemed an enduring answer had been found to the problem of how to deal with young men balancing on the edge of commitment to a criminal career. But the gradual reversal of the success/failure ratio in the years since the war has again created serious doubts,* and nowadays these lead to questioning not only of the value of different aspects of the system but in fact have led to proposals for the abandonment of borstal training as a distinctive treatment of offenders. It is not enough, however, to base such a decision on adverse statistical evidence, for unless there is a search for possible reasons for declining results there is no guarantee that an alternative policy might not break down for the same reasons. And while there has been a great deal of research into borstal training, too often it has also been content with a statistical validation, a crude profit and loss account rather than an organisational analysis. What we need to know is something about the social processes at work within the institution and how inmates respond to them; in this matter surely the group best able to register reactions are the inmates themselves.

In a study of borstal in the mid-1960s the writer sought to test certain propositions by interviewing ex-borstal boys soon after their discharge.

* Before 1939 nearly 65 per cent did not offend again, now this figure is around 30 per cent.

These were:

That the decline in the success rate of borstal training is only understandable by reference to the larger social situation, in which may be found reasons why the young men concerned are having greater difficulty than their predecessors in accepting broad social obligations; That this is related, largely, to an unpreparedness for conventional social roles rather than to any emotional disturbance;

That this social maladjustment is a product of attitudes, habits and focal concerns acquired through a socialising process which differs substantially from that assumed to transmit the values and practices of our society;

That the major task of the borstal system is one of effecting a reconciliation of these offenders to the greater society, by offering them means of identification, chiefly through personal attachments;

That the public school model is largely irrelevant to this task;

That a major obstacle arises in the circumstance that removal to an institution is regarded as a punishment.

The evidence obtained from the best informed observers of the impact of the system, the lads themselves, showed how little was being achieved at the level of changing attitudes to society and its laws. Most, indeed, saw borstal not as a training but as a punishment, and few thought of themselves as being helped except in minor ways. They made the best of their stay by participation in whatever constructive activities were available, but there was virtually no carryover of these interests on discharge. They returned to their low status home areas and took up the associations and habits of their preborstal situation within a short space of time and, almost inevitable, it was not long before they were again in trouble with the police. Their personalities had been shaped in a long growing-up process and the 'cultural transplant' which borstal attempted just had not worked.

While the decline in the success rate of borstal is a fact of life it should not be taken as proof of the futility of borstal training. It is only by personal interaction that social attitudes may be varied and borstal may get improved results by making greater use of its officers, whom this research showed can make better contact with lads than seems possible for the more specialised staff. The legislators, however, appear to have turned their backs on the borstal of Paterson and the principles of reform. The creation of detention centres represented a return of the punishment element, but a more serious setback was contained in the 1961 Criminal Justice Act, in which borstal was joined with the detention centre sentence and long-term imprisonment as part of a single system of custodial treatment. It would be small consolation to Paterson that the prison system has

itself been greatly modified along the reform continuum, largely as a result of his success in the employment of reformatory policies in borstal; his aim had been to separate borstal completely from the prison system, now it is fully integrated. Since this is accompanied by an attitude on the part of the authorities which aims at greater severity, of correction through discipline, this is a severe setback to liberal thinking. Had those responsible for effecting change in penal policy and the practices of institutions been more ready to accept that the increasing criminality of young people and their greater resistance to training was a consequence of major social change, they might have been less ready to disregard the advice of Paterson: 'The task is not to break or knead him [the young offender] into shape, but to stimulate some power within to regulate conduct aright.'

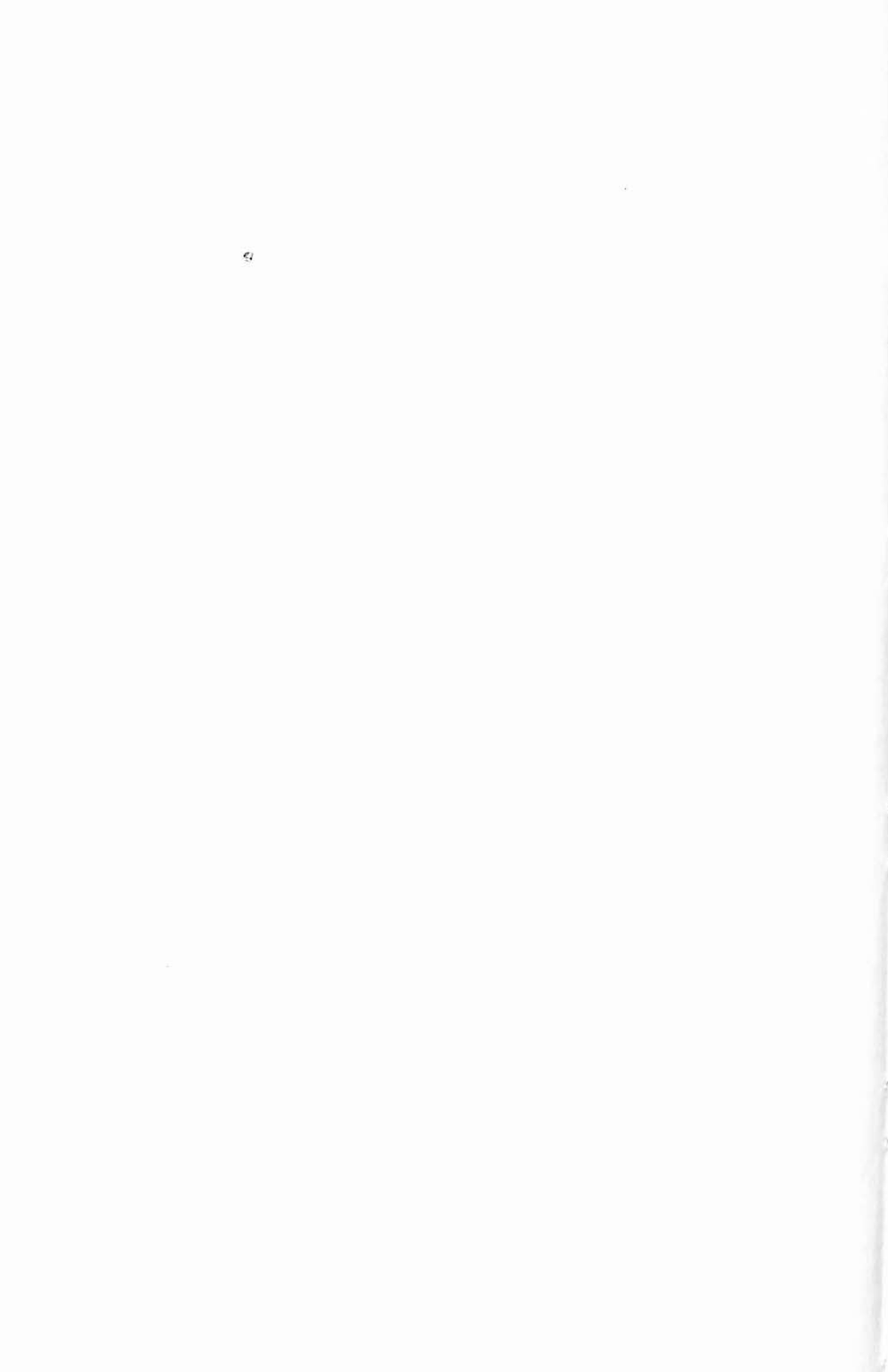
Of recent years the pressure on borstal places has led to an ever-shortening length of stay, especially in the closed borstals which are thought to be required for the more criminal type of youth now being committed for training. Little training is possible in such a situation and nowadays there can be little difference between the experience of a lad in a closed borstal and that of a young prisoner in a gaol, though one can hope that the tradition of borstal is kept alive by the individual officer. The open borstals remain a continuing example of what borstal has been, and many of the lesser experiments of the 1960s, casework, group counselling, group work with discharges and close integration of aftercare, remain as hopeful practices still available should a new spirit of optimism return.

The new life breathed into borstal by Paterson may seem to have been spent, but if it is less obviously present in the institution with which he is particularly identified it must be remembered that it found broad outlet in the prison service generally. Almost all the constructive or ameliorative features of prisons today were pioneered within the borstal system and these are likely to remain whichever way the penal balance may swing.

PART THREE

©

The group approach



The Shotton Hall experiment

Leonard Bloom

The care of the delinquent, the deprived and the maladjusted have in recent years been closely interwoven. Various voluntary residential homes and schools have pioneered new and wholly remedial methods in retraining offenders and rehabilitating deviants and maladjusted children. Amongst many notable institutions of this kind must be placed Shotton Hall, in Shropshire, which has been run for many years by F. G. Lennhoff. In this section Leonard Bloom gives a sympathetic and informed view of the kind of environmental therapy practised at Shotton. It is to a considerable extent due to the devoted pioneering work of such men as Lennhoff, David Wills, Otto Shaw and George Lyward that the new pattern of community homes, with their emphasis on caring concern and remedial treatment, has superseded the old approved school method of less personalised retraining of young offenders.

Closely resembling the average population of the approved school in intelligence, age range and social class are the thirty-five boys and adolescents at F. G. Lennhoff's Shotton Hall School, founded in 1949 for the psychological treatment, education and vocational and social training of delinquent and maladjusted boys. Within a complex and integrated democratic social system, the school combines 'formal' and 'informal' psychotherapy, shared responsibility, schooling and a wide range of practical activities. At the end of 1954 the IQs at admission ranged from 90 to about 140. The mean was slightly over 110; the SD was 13.9. Since then the lower IQ group has diminished, and new arrivals have had above average IQs, so that, in accord with the policy to accept only children with an above average intelligence, the mean IQ will gradually rise and the SD

decline. Ages at admission are between eleven and fifteen, and the average age is about thirteen.

Pupils are referred to the school by the child guidance clinics, local education authorities, hospitals, juvenile courts and children's departments of local authorities, and include those who are primarily neurotic and those who (*prima facie*) are delinquent and amenable to social training. All the pupils have had difficulty in creating relationships; are frequently unpredictable and unreliable; are hostile to and suspicious of adults; feel insecure and 'inferior' and crave for affection and trust which (until they begin to improve) they are pathetically unable to accept. At admission about one-half are enuretics and about one in ten is also a soiler. Most are from homes that are materially inadequate as they are emotionally unsatisfactory and nearly all are from working-class families. Boys stay for varying periods, the most common being two years; the school helps boys to find jobs and homes after leaving and keeps in close contact with those who want such friendship.

Every community for residential treatment has its own particular approach to treatment. At Shotton Hall the emphasis is upon practical activity, which is the focus for informal psychotherapy. The school farm provides fruit and vegetables, milk, eggs and poultry, and surpluses of milk are sold in the district. There is an elaborate building programme which has so far included two classrooms, a workshop, the dairy, the 'club room', a pottery studio and other smaller sheds and huts. A part of normal day to day routine is the repair, maintenance and decoration of the premises. Some of the school furniture was made by the boys as a part of their handiwork, and much of the simpler domestic work is shared by the boys and the trained housemothers.

A prerequisite of residential treatment is an informal, friendly and familiar atmosphere in which a child feels as free to approach an adult as he would an understanding parent, and in which he can accept adult authority with the minimum of resentment or rebellion. The boy must come gradually to sense that the community accepts him despite his shortcomings and difficulties, and that he 'belongs' to it. He must be free to express his conflicts and aggression, and eventually should realise that in the community there are many fields in which to experiment with friendship and self-reliance without suffering failure from the mortification of guilt and inadequacy. The speed with which he gains this self-reliance depends upon the ease or difficulty with which he resolves his unconscious guilt, anxiety and conflict and comes to control and canalise them. Given these prerequisites and an understanding staff, the need for a formal system of discipline can be almost entirely left to a children's court or committee, and adult-imposed discipline is accordingly reduced to a

minimum which may be considerably less than that conventionally thought necessary.

The day at Shotton Hall is a full and busy one, though opportunities for escape and retreat are not withheld where they are necessary for a boy. The fullness of the day is particularly noticed by boys newly coming from urban homes whose worlds are confined within limits of school, TV, the pictures, a little reading and playing in the park. Their families are either rigidly overorganised, or more commonly have no settled routine but lurch from one muddled crisis to another. Some new boys are unused to, and confused by, a wealth of activity; others want to do nothing because they have been forced to do too much at home or at an institution. A neurotically insecure boy often finds it difficult to decide what he wants to do and spends his time lamenting that 'there's nothing to do', when his emotional problems so preoccupy him that he is literally incapable of choice, and has to learn how to choose. In almost all cases, the boy is most familiar with the authoritarian approach, so that the prior need is to lead him to trust, to accept adult authority and to cooperate, without making the assumption that the adult's motives are governed by animus. This aspect of therapy is based upon personal relationships with the boy, to which the many activities shared by adults and pupils and the opportunity to work on equal terms contribute indirectly but significantly.

The demands that may be placed upon a child vary with his emotional state at the time; on both his general progress and his temporary 'ups and downs'. There can be no mechanical allotting of responsibility and duties. The social framework must therefore be flexible and tough to withstand the shocks of the individual child's moods and enthusiasms, and stable to provide a pattern of life to support and give security to an insecure child. The adult must have insight sufficiently deep to understand when not to press a child who is reluctant to carry out a social demand; when it is better policy to try to persuade the boy; when to be firm and insistent so that the boy is compelled to face a reality situation; when to suggest that one of the boy's friends could usefully and tactfully approach him. If there is a complex social network of duties and activities the need to ensure the smooth working of the system can become a compelling force that it is no light matter to resist. It is essential therefore never to overlook the emotional need of a boy to retire or retreat, and indeed there are always boys (as there are adults), reserved by temperament, who find brisk social life uncongenial and too much social pressure unbearable. The adult has sometimes to balance the rival demands of the group and the individual, not without careful consideration of the priority he must give in each case to the rival claimants. Most frequently the conflict arises when, although it would be therapeutically valuable for a boy to exploit his

reluctance to meet a social demand and to resist society, his failure to do a duty would disrupt or disorganise the social group. George announced one morning: 'I don't want to milk the cows today. Why should I?' This situation does not affect George alone, because if the cows are not milked the school will have no milk and the cows will be uncomfortable and even in danger. Shall George be compelled or cajoled to milk cows? Shall an adult with whom he has good relationship try to restore him to a better frame of mind? Shall the situation be glossed over and another boy be asked to do the job? Would it be good for George if the children were to express their disapproval (through the Children's Committee) at being let down, or should a disciplinary situation be avoided? No formula can be propounded to meet this and all similar problems; the adult must use his judgement, intuition and experience, and in any event would be unwise to appear to waver indecisively and to let the situation develop beyond an inconvenient domestic incident, or to treat the matter as purely disciplinary without careful consideration.

There is no lack of jobs to be done at the school, and the Principal and his wife and interested boys publish a list of jobs which is changed at least every week. The list is designed to give each boy a job that suits his temperament and stage of development, and gives him what he wants to do. The housemothers supervise and actively help with jobs, so that a child who needs adult attention and encouragement can have it unobtrusively and indirectly. The standards of care and conscientiousness vary from boy to boy. At one stage a boy will be unable to stick to any but the simplest job, but gradually as he becomes more stable he will be able to tolerate greater demands. Allan can only manage to trot about the grounds to collect the paper and rubbish to make into a bonfire, or to rig a target at which to shy old bottles or tins. Bill can be relied upon to feed the poultry regularly, Charlie to milk the cows and David to help lay the foundations for the new classroom. But however simple the job may be it must give the boy a chance to enjoy a sense of achievement, which will gradually increase his confidence. There are more immediately personal considerations: Eric may be quite unable to work except by himself, while Frank would be desperately lonely and miserable without a friend for company to share his job. There must always be jobs to satisfy aggressive boys, one of whom was overjoyed to smash the old lavatory pans, and all of whom are satisfied by such jobs as chopping logs, rooting up bushes, tearing out weeds, pulling down plaster or brickwork. Yet other boys prefer jobs to which they can apply themselves automatically while they day-dream.

Although great importance is attached to the individual's practical contribution to the community at Shotton, a new and younger boy is not

forced into the timetable at once. He will be allowed to wander round the house getting his bearings, as it were. Perhaps he will stop and help an older boy, then leave him and pass on to something else. He may not even be expected to go into school just at first. Gradually he will be drawn into the life of the community. It is fully realised that the boys have need at times to choose their own occupations or to be relieved of demands upon them made by their fellows. Ample time for this is given after school and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. At these times they are free, within reason, to do what they choose. One boy elects to cook his tea over a camp fire; a group will get together for a game of cricket; another boy will go into the woods with a book and letter pad; someone else will just want to sunbathe and another two or three will go to the baths for a swim. When a group decide to do something together the most mature will take charge. This is in itself a further acknowledgement of the boy's responsibility to his fellows.

Prima facie, the attention the school pays to running repairs and decoration to the premises is not a promising topic for psychological discussion. At Shotton, despite the considerable destruction to be expected of a group of maladjusted boys, the premises do not look shabby or dilapidated: windows are broken by a carelessly thrown ball, paintwork is kicked or scraped, plaster is chipped, brick and cement are picked by bits of metal, and most of this is done by Mr Nobody. To rely upon conventional disciplinary methods to lessen the damage, once the culprit has been discovered, would be negative and of no help to individual psychotherapy. Instead a tradition has developed that it is a normal part of routine to make damage good as soon as it is noticed, and the boys who have been at the school a short while begin to feel possessive about the premises and put the damage to rights without any direct steps having to be taken. This is due to the intimate identification of most boys with the community, and to the example of the adults. After they have damaged property most boys feel guilty (even though they may release tension and satisfy aggressive impulses whilst, and immediately after, committing the damage), and do not like to be reminded continually, by seeing its results, of the aggression that they are struggling to overcome. Most boys, too, reach a stage at which they positively resent dirt, destruction and muddle, their need for them having been satisfied; but this stage cannot be forced upon a child and the need to destroy, to satisfy aggression and to be dirty and untidy is a commonplace in the early stages of maladjustment and may (in certain cases) even have to be encouraged. The school has, therefore, a large wood with a stream and thick undergrowth reserved for wild games and aggressive, rough and destructive play, and there is a room in the house tacitly set aside as a 'ragging-room'.

It has been suggested that a major part of the school's informal psychotherapy depends on the work of the boys in the farm with animals. In addition to the emotional value of that work a boy can observe how it is possible to plan for the future and to act in a businesslike and realistic manner. Boys discuss and know about the financial aspects of the management of the farm, accompany the principal to the solicitors, visit auctions, study catalogues, work out prices and quantities, and probably for the first time in their lives are taken into the confidence of an adult and trusted. The effect of this upon a boy's confidence is incalculable; he is being taken for granted by an understanding parent.

The basic importance of caring for animals on the farm is that it provides a boy with unconscious rehearsals of positive relationships with his fellows. But dangers do exist, and it is necessary to give an aggressive or unreliable boy a job which, though it brings him into contact with animals, will not give him too many opportunities or temptations to harm them. Most animals can run off or take care of themselves if teased and it may be dramatically useful if a boy is hit back in circumstances that he cannot interpret as a clash of personalities. In practice direct and open cruelty is rare, and harm or unkindness is less usual than an indefinite verbally expressed ambivalence. Fred, aged thirteen, was extremely aggressive, rejected by his parents and brought up in an institution of the old-fashioned repressive kind from the age of six. He was desperately anxious to give love, as he was unable to accept it. After he had been at the school a short while he was moved to tears by a calf's nuzzling him and sucking his fingers. He became devoted to the calves, though his relationships with adults remained hostile and suspicious. He spoke to the calves and helped an elder boy conscientiously to care for them and the cows, but was observed (unknown to him) to be alternately affectionate and hostile to the cows. One day when milking he was seen hitting a cow for not giving him enough milk. The cow impatiently kicked him when he hit her, and, surprisingly, his response was not his usual outburst of temper. His mood changed sharply: 'The naughty thing. Tomorrow you'll make it up for me. I know you will.'

The boys who take most interest in a baby animal suckling its mother are those who have missed mother-love. Often their interest is surreptitious; they simulate a forced air of indifference and look ashamed or angry if their interest is discovered. Yet when the mother pig could not suckle her piglets, there were more volunteers for the very tedious job of feeding them with a drip-feeder than was needed, and boys volunteered who had before shown no interest in animals. Many boys want to care for animals to satisfy a frustrated impulse to give and receive affection; they are afraid to commit themselves to a friendship with either adults or their

fellows. The socially esteemed activity of the farm gives them a justification for their interest — an interest more realistic and less maudlin than an ephemeral passion for a pet. Many boys who need an emotional relationship with an adult are unable to make one: they have never experienced one and would not understand how to cope with it. They need emotional response nevertheless, but if it were to come from an adult or child they would fall back upon their habitual defences of hostility or withdrawal. An animal is an affectionate, living being, but to care for it has not the demands, disadvantages, tensions and uncertainties of a human relationship. Boys have commented (after they had passed to a stage at which they could confide in an adult), that they *could only* talk to the dog or the cow, and as one boy remarked, 'the animals always say "yes" to you'.

Most of the boys at Shotton have only seen sex as morbid and unpleasant, and have little idea that the relations of parent-child can be other than hostile, and that those of mother-father can be other than animus-ridden. 'Sex education' is more than the satisfying of the boy's doubts about the biology of sex; few boys are troubled about such doubts, and the significant cause of emotional unrest about sex is more likely to be the boy's (often unconscious and disguised) puzzlement and fear about the *emotional* relationships between the sexes. 'Sex education' is not, therefore, confined to the giving of biological information but must be extended to the general psychotherapy of the boy and is an integral part of it. However, 'sex education', even in the broadest sense, is comparatively lightly charged with emotion, less likely to awaken unconscious guilt and anxiety, and more likely to be of therapeutic value to the boy if his sense of proportion is helped by seeing animals giving birth to, and caring for, their young without the overexcitement, shame and attempted concealment to which their parents have accustomed them.

The other aspect of training that is discussed here in detail is that of constructional work, i.e. building and similar work, the main psychological importance of which was neatly expressed by George, aged ten, who was one day helping to mix cement for the new classroom. He thought a few moments and said: 'If we wanted to, *we* could have built Shotton, couldn't we?' George unwittingly was drawing attention to the sense of achievement and success, and of identification with a group which the cooperative bustle of building creates. Another aspect is that constructional activity combats the unhealthy lethargy of some children, and convinces them of the satisfaction of doing things and making things.

But until a boy has begun to make progress in his individual emotional adjustment he may not wish or be able to be more than a mere bystander. Only gradually does a boy become dissatisfied with looking on and want actively to help; he has to overcome his sense of inadequacy and shyness,

and will be gently given excuses to join at his own level, for example by simple fetching, carrying and holding. The newcomer must be allowed to watch, and to decide for himself when (and if) it is safe to venture into the uncharted deeps of social life. A boy cannot be hurried towards a spontaneous and genuine willingness and readiness to create, cooperate and compete, for this willingness depends on the resolution of his insecurity and malaise. Emotionally, building and similar work make fewer demands on a boy than activities in which he has to express himself individually, such as 'free' art, and an acutely unstable boy often finds that precision craftwork is too intensive and demanding of his attention for him to manage it. Helping to design a shed (even if the help is less active or technically important than the encouragement of it objectively warrants) is less committal than painting a picture, and this is particularly pertinent to the treatment of a boy who suspects that in his picture he is revealing some incidents of his emotional life that he would rather keep hidden. Building also satisfies aggressive and destructive impulses, yet at the same time it paradoxically converts them into constructive channels, and creates its own compensation and reparation for such destruction. Knocking down a wall to use the bricks for rebuilding, tearing nails out of a beam, mixing concrete, burning old paint — these are not only aggressive acts but are steps in a visibly constructive and social activity. Of course, these psychotherapeutic elements are byproducts of the activity, and in no way replace the paramountcy of individual psychological treatment.

Maladjusted children frequently come from homes in which the adults are forever veering and tacking from fulsome affection and conscience-lulling gift-giving to cold rejection or active hostility. The child cannot trust adults and it is difficult (or even impossible) to demonstrate to him that trust is not dangerous but is a possible and a normal response. This lack of trust is a well known hindrance in the early individual psychotherapeutic interviews, and a complete inability to cooperate is by no means unusual. At different institutions different techniques are used to resolve this difficulty, and there is always need of an emotionally neutral prop or scaffolding to support the sensitive and frail structure of the early stages of a positive transference, and to ease the strain and tension of an experimental, tentative friendship. The whole range of shared activities provides a ready means of unobtrusively fostering the transference, and is (if the adults are alert and imaginative) the neutral emotional ground on which adults and children can learn to know and understand one another. A boy who would be suspicious of a private formal interview with an adult, and might withdraw emotionally, is often readier to accept an informal situation without suspecting or troubling about its psychological significance; he will unburden himself sitting on the garden gate, or in the

car on the way to town, or squatting in an adult's room in front of his fire. This is a strong argument in favour of an adult's working with a small group of boys, which is strengthened by the tendency of members of a small group to discuss themselves and their problems. Very frequently an impromptu group therapy session becomes a most important ancillary to bricklaying or waiting for the bus or wandering about the orchard to collect the eggs. Adults must be aware of the significance of such occasions, must be able to take advantage of them, and must realise when it is best to change the subject to one less charged with emotion.

This article has concentrated on some aspects of activity that are generally not considered to be promising material for the psychotherapist's attention, but at Shotton Hall there are other activities more easily recognised for their therapeutic value. There is, of course, the widest informality and friendship between adults and boys so that the school has many of the advantages of the 'informal' psychotherapy which I discussed in this journal in July 1955.* The school has an educational programme ranging from the fundamentals of remedial education to the O-level examinations, and schooling also serves the functions of therapy in that it offers yet another field in which the boy can obtain a sense of achievement and get individual adult attention. The classes are small, and the teacher may be helping boys who are retarded in the basic subjects, have a history of truancing, and are withdrawn, negative or fractious in class. Many boys lack interest in schooling, some because of the absence of cultural stimulus in their homes, or because of the emotional demands of their maladjustment. Boys have much contact outside class with the teachers who must be as interested in the boys as individuals as they are in the formality of teaching their subjects. Besides the educational and cultural life of the school, there is much consistent individual psychotherapy carried out by the principal (or by trained members of the staff) with the advice and cooperation of the school's consultant psychiatrist or the psychiatrist of the authority responsible for the boy, and there are regular and frequent staff discussions about children and about the general policy of the school. The school has evolved a system of shared responsibility, and a major agent of social control and public opinion is the Children's Committee.

I have suggested that even conventional social-vocational training has psychological value, and if the school's basic assumption is that psychotherapy is the prior consideration, then all activities can be made to contribute to that aim. In recent times there has been a steady infiltration of

* L. Bloom, 'Some aspects of the residential psychotherapy of maladjusted or delinquent children', *British Journal of Delinquency*, 6, No. 1, 41-9.

individual psychological methods into the field of social training; and similarly individual psychotherapy has begun to incorporate social methods. Social training may do little more than show a courteous deference to its psychological implications, and then it is doing but part of its job because it ignores that 'it is dangerous to produce good social behaviour by means which leave the antisocial emotions untouched'.*

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* Bertrand Russell, *Education and the Social Order*, Allen & Unwin, 1932.

Group work in the probation setting

D. Bissell

In recent years many probation officers have extended their traditionally one-to-one casework methods by seeking to meet and help their probationers in small groups. The operation of one such group is outlined in the following extract by a practising probation officer. Problems of evaluation are, as always in social work, difficult to resolve and the author does not advance any extravagant claims for the success of his group work sessions.

'Never settle down within the theory you have chosen, the course you have embraced; know that another theory, another course exists and seek that.' Mary Follett's (1934) stimulating exhortation rings out in challenge at a most apposite period of development in the probation service. As though in response, and breaking through the traditional concept of the 'one-to-one' relationship between probation officer and probationer, is the widespread interest which is being manifested in the possibility of group work practice within the probation setting.

There is no denying the fundamental value and the indispensable nature of the bond between the worker and the client as afforded through the framework of the individual interview. Nor is it suggested that group work is an invariable alternative to the personal relationships which are created through the medium of confidential discussions. The group process does, however, provide a provocative addition to the growing nucleus of method and knowledge becoming available to the service. More important, the group climate can provide the opportunity for the client to move forward to achieve a more realistic and responsible attitude to life in a way which is frequently denied to the participants in the individual interview.

The following few paragraphs may serve to suggest to the reader some of the voluminous and varied range of literature relevant to the subject.

Perhaps also the two examples quoted may illustrate something of the group dynamic in operation.

INITIAL CONCEPTS AND PROBLEMS OF SELECTION

The absence of any²⁰ documented evidence of group work undertakings within the probation service makes it somewhat difficult to claim with any authority either that a group of a particular nature is best applicable to the setting, or that clients of a specific category are likely to qualify for membership of such groups whilst others are not. We shall best remedy this defect in knowledge and our quest for experience of group work, if we realistically appraise our limitations and qualifications, thereby focusing our endeavours upon undertakings which are within our abilities. In so doing we set ourselves a margin of security and indeed of safety. Furst (1951) has a word for us here in a detailed analysis he makes of homogeneous groups as against heterogeneous groups. He recommends that homogeneity has many advantages when (a) intensive therapy is not desired; and (b) the group leader does not wish the substance of group interaction to become too involved. In practice, he maintains, clients with similar problems, of relative unimpairment and common personality patterns, can achieve through the group process: (i) early identification; (ii) swift re-education and insight; (iii) lessened resistance; (iv) quicker attainment of goals; (v) absence of cliques.

It will be found convenient to base our further deliberations around these findings on homogeneity, and we are led on as a natural sequence to discuss the implication of 'the gang' and its potential as a unit of group work. . . . Thrasher (1955, p. 41) writes of the gang as a "unity" of interacting personalities' and as 'an accommodation of conflicting individualities' and in so doing draws for us an analogy to the situation prevailing in the therapeutic group. We are alive to the more subtle issues which await us in an undertaking of this particular structure. It might be thought that problems of rivalry, loyalties and the election of a counter-leader competing for control of the group create a disparaging force within the group, or again that a frustration of the urge for status will prove a source of much wasteful expenditure of emotional energy and interaction.

These are important considerations which are, however, common not only to the gang group in the situation for which we are attempting to prescribe, but also to every healthy group process. It should be reiterated that in providing an opportunity for the revealing of hostility and conflict we are restating one of the primary functions of group activity. The common purpose for which the group is called together within the agency

can act not only as a stimulus to discussion during the sessions, but also as a force for unifying the group and carrying it along to its successful conclusion.

The following account of the gang group meeting for discussions may prove of interest in highlighting both the problems and the potential of such an undertaking.

DEMONSTRATION

Eight youths and four girls were involved in sexual orgies on the recreation ground of a small industrial town. All the eight youths were proceeded against. The eldest, a person of twenty-one years with previous convictions for indecency, was sent to prison for six months. Of the remainder, a youth of twenty was fined £20 and the six younger lads, ages fifteen to eighteen, pleaded guilty to indecent assault and were each placed on probation for twelve months. The chairman of the magistrates asked each of the fathers present whether they were prepared to give moral instruction to their sons and all of them admitted their inability to do so. The probation officer was therefore asked to undertake this task. (Here it could perhaps have been legitimately argued that the parents were in need of the support and instruction and not the lads.)

After the proceedings the PO discussed with each of the boys individually what his feelings would be towards meeting as a group to comply with the wishes of the court. Each of them said that he was in favour of such a course being taken. They therefore met regularly at varying intervals for the next few months. The following is a brief résumé of the progress of the group. No attempt is made to give an account of the more involved aspects of group interaction which were revealed.

First meeting

All very punctual. Attitudes of the six lads anxious, forced, facetious. The PO served each of them with a copy of his probation order and explained it to them. They then discussed its implications stage by stage. It was possible to see from the outset that they derived a great deal of mutual support from each other's company. The PO then brought up the question of the purpose for which the group had been formed and there were long embarrassing silences. No one, it seemed, was prepared to talk or make any contribution. The PO therefore suggested that they might like to think in terms of how frequently they should meet. It was decided to meet in fourteen days.

Second meeting

Again all very punctual. There was a tense air of expectancy. The PO led the way into the discussion by asking them what their feelings were on probation now that they had had a chance to consider their position. Their response was reasonably spontaneous. There were differing levels of intelligence. The grammar school boy was the leader, he verbalised quite easily, the others tending to re-echo some of his phrases. The PO then provided the opportunity for the question of sex instruction to be brought up and asked the group if they had any ideas on how they could talk about sex. Again there followed the long tense silence, and it was suggested to them that they might like to consider the wisdom or otherwise of their conduct. This brought forth some open indication of feeling. One youth maintained that what had been done was not unnatural, another supported him and went on to say that all boys did it. The third wanted to know why the girls had not been dealt with. He considered that they were as bad as anyone in encouraging them. They were asked why the oldest one amongst them had been sent to prison. Why was this so? This led ultimately to quite an open discussion about society and why there should be laws to control and prohibit activity of this kind. Half an hour passed very quickly and it was noticed that all the members of the group began to share in the discussion. The PO found that he could sit back and allow them to express their opinions. They handed their cigarettes around freely. Eventually silence fell again and the PO stepped in to suggest that they might like to discuss when they should next meet. It was decided that they should come together again in a fortnight.

Third meeting

Again all present a few minutes before time. An air of informality began to creep into the pregroup chatter as the early arrivals waited for the others to come. It was interesting to note that they always wanted to occupy the same chairs, and there was some argument about this. They therefore had a discussion about rearranging the chairs. Those seated in front were only too happy to allow a greater share of the limelight to 'backbenchers' and after much grumbling and reluctance and moving around we attempted to resume where we had left off. It was quite obvious that some of them had been considerably unsettled by the move. For a time there was some difficulty in getting going. They again took up the subject of the last meeting – why society deems it necessary to make laws regarding sexual behaviour. What would happen if there were no laws covering our sexual conduct? They began to warm up and argued between themselves quite

vehemently and with feeling. Parental attitudes began to show through. They began to refer more to the PO seeking his point of view, offering their points of disagreement for arbitration. The PO deliberately refrained from pronouncing judgement, simply restating the facts and allowing them, from their own reconsiderations to draw conclusions.

When the issue concerning society seemed to have been exhausted, the officer felt it necessary to inject the group with a new subject — the physical side of sexual development. Many of them were extremely well informed about this and no obstacles were revealed. When they saw that physically they were mature, yet in the eyes of society they were still children, some element of perplexity and anxiety crept in. What can we do? they asked. This led them as a natural sequence on to the problem of masturbation, and they needed a great deal of help in verbalising their feelings in this connection. The PO acknowledged their anxieties both by referring to the normality of this practice and showing them how natural it was also to have guilt feelings about it.

The remainder of this session was characterised by a strong feeling of hostility over parental inadequacy. They were all loud in their protestations about their parents' inability to help them. 'Why have they not told us?' they complained, 'Why do they not understand our needs?' Quite prolonged discussions over their parents' shortcomings took place. Identification with the PO at this stage was excessively strong, and it was difficult to remain detached. They almost press-ganged him into an onward upsurging mission on behalf of modern youth. Their feelings were extremely intense. The PO eventually enabled them to see that their parents were in the main reacting in accordance with the standards that they themselves had known and that their attitude was as understandable to them as indeed were the reactions of the group members to themselves. He also helped them to see that there was a point of reconciliation between past and present standards. There was considerable reluctance to leave the office and they talked for an hour and a half. Eventually all went, but one youth, a Roman Catholic returned. He wondered whether his beliefs made it possible for him to accept an uninhibited view of sex. He was given a great deal of reassurance and he quite willingly agreed to the PO's suggestion that he should discuss points of difference with his priest where he felt them to exist.

Fourth meeting

The Roman Catholic youth arrived early. He told the officer quite happily that he had been to see his priest and all was well; he did not feel out of things. Again the group assembled well before time. They wanted further

discussion on the subject of the previous week and they got off to another promising start with more thinking of the same kind. Their need for reassurance was still very strong. The PO felt that they found this from their frankness towards each other in revealing their own anxieties; they also began to express themselves more confidently.

They wanted to know what was regarded as normal social sexual development, and examined the criteria for this. They emerged in their own eyes as essentially normal beings and their satisfaction at this self-discovery was very clearly marked. Their confidence was mirrored in their open presentation of their various queries. At no time did the PO attempt to interpret to the individual concerned the issues involved in the problem he had introduced. General statements were made and they appeared able to relate their own position in this indirect way. Assiduously discussed were problems of VD, prostitution, homosexuality, all of which had been raised by individual members. Again there was considerable reluctance in their finishing; they wanted to go on.

Subsequent groups

The next few sessions saw them meeting regularly, keenly thinking about all the aspects of living which they wished to consider. Their textbook became the *News of the World* and, at their request its reporting was examined for some weeks. The PO saw this as the 'window on the world' for most of them. They were particularly concerned about the problem of premarital intercourse. Was it sensible that they should do this? Always they were challenged to see themselves as adults. Many of them were earning men's wages; they had men's bodies; they asked that society treat them like men. How does a mature person behave? This was the main problem which they had to resolve. A great deal of recapitulation was done. At no time was the subject portrayed in any narrow or carping sense. The Roman Catholic youth brought in the Church's attitude and the group found it surprisingly acceptable to them. They saw it as good sound common sense. Eventually they began to discuss the worth of girls who had 'principle'. What should they look for in a marriage partner? What were the essentials of a stable marriage? There was a sense of frankness, good humour and a 'growing-up-togetherness'.

After discussions lasting several hours, spread out over four months, the PO reported back to his case committee on the progress that the group had made and obtained permission to apply for the discharges of the probation orders at any time that it was felt opportune. This was therefore put to the

members of the group, and exactly nineteen weeks after the orders were made the court discharged them.

PROBLEMS OF SELECTION

It may well be considered that the group work process with 'the gang', as revealed in the previous section, is conceived as an economical method of coping with work under pressure. It could further be admitted that in certain circumstances its use can be a valid and a fruitful enterprise. It is not, however, a convenient form of resolving some of the problems of selection.

Not all caseloads will contain the elements of the gang group and, even if this is the position, every probation officer will not concede (with some justification) that the group discussion procedure is always best suited to meet the needs of the members of this association. We are now, therefore, conveniently confronted with a question of fundamental importance in our thinking around this problem of the selection of *individuals* for group work practice, as against the treatment *en masse* of a unit already in formation. We need to inquire with some solicitude into the prevailing situation concerning our casework method and technique with the single client under review. What benefits will accrue, what further progress can we anticipate, how much more will be revealed in the group state than has been apparent in the one-to-one relationship? In other words, what are the advantages of the group method as against those current in the present practice of individual interviewing?

In facing some of these issues we can be aided by the experience and wisdom of a considerable number of authorities. Summarising some of their findings we find that there is broad agreement on the following points around the particular values of group work.

1. The opportunities to compare problems, opinions, personal histories and feelings make it easier for many clients to face their difficulties much more objectively and speedily.
2. When in a group, in contrast to the individual relationship, the client can feel more safe. He is less threatened by this situation than by the tensions emanating from the demands of the single interview. He can 'hide', can seek shelter and indeed comfort within the group.
3. The group makes it possible to observe the client in a situation closely akin to real life. Within it, the client's characteristic ways of relating to others and of reacting to the events of living are quite apparent and can be examined by the client, the group and the group leader.

4. The group offers the client a true experience in relating to others, communicating with them and, above all, in being himself (not what he thinks people will expect him to be). He will learn that others feel as isolated and as lonely as he sometimes does himself, that they too have feelings of anger, hostility, guilt and regret. As he progresses he can reveal more and more of himself, and he finds that, although he may be criticised, he is not rejected, derided or humiliated. His old defences drop away, he sees himself and others more realistically; when he is able to translate this experience into his reality situation, the major therapeutic goal has been achieved.
5. The group provides access to the skill and experience of a variety and number of other people. This can rarely be equalled in the process of individual supervision.

Having, as it were, again replenished our store of suppositions, it is perhaps apposite at this stage to examine a further instance of the group discussion process in operation. In this particular representation, three youths were selected from the caseload. (Four were originally requested to join the group, but one subsequently declined.) All were on probation for different offences involving violence and dishonesty, but their ages (fifteen to eighteen), their attitude to authority, their expressed hostility, their apparent intelligences and their cultural correlations, all these factors suggested the substance of homogeneity urged upon us by Furst.

During the early stages of their supervision on the one-to-one relationship, each of them was enabled to work through some initial truculence and suspicion. Any attempt to create self-insight met with a varying response. In not one instance could it be held, however, that their ability for self-awareness was anything other than superficial. A form of impasse had been reached — each of their individual interviews was to a large degree a 'yes and no' interlude. Their thinking around their private and domestic affairs and their capacity to reveal their feelings were facets of their personalities which they were not prepared to involve in any discussions with their PO. Their relationships with their parents — and indeed other adult figures — their loyalties to peer groups, their attitudes towards the opposite sex, the substance of their rivalries, their sense of worth, quality and regard for people or property, were matters which were clouded in the mists of assumption. Confirmation of the strengths and weaknesses of any of these aspects had not been possible during the normal 'to and fro' of individual interviewing.

It was possible that through the group discussion process we might:

- (a) Provide a situation in which their hostility could be openly revealed, and thereby help them to appreciate the essential normality of strong

feelings of this type, since they are enabled to see them as symptoms of a deeper underlying cause.

- (b) Suggest to them that frequently the verbalising of one's frustrations is much more acceptable than the impulsive outburst of violence which so often results. (Not necessarily to imply that this is a better or more satisfying way of coping.)
- (c) Indicate how often one encounters tensions and rivalries in the home and elsewhere, and by joint discussion to facilitate an expression of their feelings in this sphere.
- (d) Discuss with them their concept of adulthood and their reaction to authority figures.
- (e) Offer them the support of similarities in each of their individual problems and needs.
- (f) Encourage a permissive yet secure atmosphere in which could be stimulated a growth towards maturity.

For some few interviews with the youths as individuals, the group process was discussed, in the hope that they would be entering into a new situation not only with their consent, but with some element of awareness. (It is particularly interesting, as will be seen, that despite this they revealed a marked incapacity to understand the arrangement in the early stages.) The parents did not withhold their agreement to the undertaking and the sanction of the appropriate administration was obtained. What follows is a recording which took place during some of the phases of the experiment. For the sake of convenience and anonymity we shall classify the participants as Alpha, Gamma and Beta.

Example

The three lads came to the office almost simultaneously. They had a passing knowledge of each other, having all been to the same school although at different periods. They gossiped freely as they waited for the fourth member of the group to arrive. However, this other boy telephoned to say that he was detained at work and would not be able to come along. The PO therefore asked the three youths present what they felt they might obtain from attending the Probation Office as they had done as a group. He had previously talked to them individually about groups, but despite this they apparently found the question somewhat difficult to answer. He then again outlined the nature of groups and what could possibly be attained through their coming together. This was accepted somewhat blandly. When the PO went on to suggest that he got the impression that youths of their age felt that adults did not really understand them, there

was almost a burst of applause. A fierce discussion took place, and it was apparent that a sore spot had been touched. They certainly felt that they were wrongly thought of and they outlined instances of their own experiences in this respect. The basis for all their outburst, however, appeared to be conflict with authority and for a long time they wanted to talk about the things that people had done to them. The PO encouraged this process by considering these factors. Perhaps the most interesting point of revelation was the fact of their mutual condemnation of their headmaster. They felt, although they had been to the same school at different times, that he had mishandled them all in the same way.

They loudly resented his attitude towards them and went on to suggest that this lack of understanding on his part during their adolescence was responsible for much of their aggression and subsequent behaviour in the past twelve months. It was noticed that Alpha clenched his fists repeatedly during his denunciations of his headmaster. His considerable reputation in the district in which he lives as the leader of teddy-boys appeared to be accepted by the other two. As yet Beta and Gamma were not challenging anything he said. They continued their hostility towards people in authority by running down the police. Each one outlined the methods which had been used in apprehending him, and they obviously enjoyed 'telling the tale'. The PO put the question to them that perhaps there was some authority in their home, but this brought little response. They were not prepared at this stage to criticise their parents, although they did eventually get on to revealing something of their family constellations. What did it mean having brothers and sisters? No clear pattern emerged as yet in terms of relationships in the home. At this stage a general conclusion could be drawn suggesting that they felt overprotective towards and concerned for their younger brothers and sisters, but considerably challenged and at times annoyed by those in the home who were older than themselves. About an hour and a half passed, at the end of which the PO asked how they felt about meeting again. All agreed that there had been something worthwhile in this and a further arrangement was made.

New session

Again the trio arrived together. The PO got them to outline some of the subjects of the previous discussions, and it was interesting to note that they had no difficulty in doing this. They were all smoking, and this provided an opportunity for the smoking habit to be discussed. What were their feelings in regard to cigarettes and their connection with lung cancer? They all with one accord mocked at the suggestion that this was so or that it was a sufficient reason to give up smoking. Alpha felt that this was a

further instance of the way adults attempted to spoil their pleasure. Beta felt that far too much was being made out of too little. They all agreed that they were going to continue to smoke, and puffed more furiously as they attempted to convince the PO that they meant what they had said.

Alpha then wanted to bring up the question of a car that he was going to buy. It was a Daimler Conquest Saloon, a six-cylinder job, and he became eloquent as he told the group about it. The PO suggested that possibly this was a somewhat large vehicle and Beta and Gamma quickly cottoned on to this and gave Alpha a somewhat unhappy time criticising him for wanting to buy a car of such size. An interesting side to Alpha was then reflected. He showed that he could take criticisms from others, and although he became extremely heated and continued to gesticulate with his fists, he showed a degree of good humour. It was revealed, however, that a small car would not satisfy Alpha. He wanted to show off. He wanted to have a good time in it and be the one who could take the boys, and indeed the girls, around. This confirmed some of the assumptions which the PO had made about Alpha in regard to his apparent need to bolster up some of the inadequacies which were indicated in his personality. Beta was more realistic. He was quite content to have an Austin Seven. He said that as far as he was concerned a car was not of immediate importance. He was saving his money for more important things. Gamma said that he could not care less about a car.

This led to a discussion about the question of security. Alpha and Gamma had strong ties with the opposite sex. Did they feel it was necessary to put money on one side to settle down eventually? Neither would accept this. With Alpha it seemed that he wanted money to convince society constantly what a big boy he was. He gave the impression that his girl encouraged him in this way of thinking. Gamma, however, said that he was intending to save his money in order that he might join his brother in a furniture business in the not too distant future. Beta, because he is physically somewhat immature and retarded, had not as yet shown a marked interest in girls. The others teased him about this, but he clung sensibly to his own assessment of the situation. A great deal of bantering and leg-pulling took place. While they were on the subject of girls, the PO asked how they felt about girls' parents. How did the boys feel when they intervened and when they wanted to know with whom their daughters were associating? The old authority bug again raised its head and in fact all three had had experience of this sort of thing. After some few minutes' discussion they saw that there was something to commend in the parents of girls who did express concern and feeling about their daughters' activities. Alpha's girl had no father. Gamma had had open warfare with the father of the girl that he was at present courting, and on one occasion

he had intended to lay this person out. However, he told the group that it had been unnecessary; he had managed to talk the old man round.

The PO used the opportunity to bring up the boys' own respective family situations, and the group's remarks were quite revealing on this subject. It was interesting to appreciate how they could apparently regard their own parents as acceptable authority figures, although during the discussion it was seen how very little real confidence they had in their fathers, in particular, to guide and direct them in their problems. Gamma maintained that his father was much too unwell to be worried by difficulties; he therefore rarely turned to him for advice. Alpha said that he had his father eating out of his hand; he thought he was too soft. He quoted instances of how his dad had paid for his defence on the three occasions that he had appeared before the court. Beta saw his father as a silly ass at times, but despite all the bad feeling he had about him in the past, he thought his dad was anxious to do his best for him. By natural sequence the question of authority in regard to people in control at work came up, and again an intense discussion took place around foremen and methods of giving orders. Ultimately the group returned to the police force. There was still a great deal of feeling here. They were scathingly critical of the police and their conception of police work and activity was quite infantile.

This particular meeting lasted approximately one and a half hours. At the end of it the PO drew the threads together and offered them a further chance to meet in this way. Through the group process these youths were able to see authority, as represented by their probation officer, as permissive, realistic, understanding and at times humorous. There was a great deal of raucous laughter and freedom of expression of ideas.

New session

Alpha and Beta were in quite high spirits, but Gamma indicated by his attitude that he was somewhat unhappy. Therefore when they were considering a subject for discussion Gamma said light-heartedly 'women'. He was asked why he said this and it was revealed that the night before his girl-friend had given him up in favour of another youth by the name of David whom Gamma bitterly criticised for the fact that he had a motor-cycle. Alpha and Beta offered suggestions as to how this situation should be dealt with. It seemed that Gamma had been going with this girl for some fifteen months, and although he admitted that she was not as stable as he would have liked her to be, at least she was his girl and that was all that mattered. He had spent a lot of money on her and now he realised

what a gold-digger she was. He said that he had been b . . . fool enough to have bought an expensive Christmas present for her. They had a discussion as to whether or not David should be intercepted and beaten up, but eventually they realised that this youth was not at fault, but the girl. The other two expressed the opinion that Gamma was fortunate to have got rid of her before the rot had set in. They suggested to him that the best arrangement now was that he should see the girl, give her the Christmas present he had bought, and ask her to give him the present she had bought for him. Gamma went on to say how much he had appreciated the opportunity to express his feelings about this matter. He said that had it happened a short time ago he would have gone around the district like a lunatic and somebody would have suffered. Talking about it made him feel better.

This discussion took about half an hour, and then the question of the closing down of the local Odeon cinema came up. All three said that they were sorry about this. They felt some attachment to their own picture place. This meant that they now had to go further afield if they wanted to see anything. Alpha said that he did not mind this because, if they went to the Rex, they could see an 'X' film. The PO introduced a few thoughts around 'X' films and asked them what they felt they saw in an 'X' film which was not apparent in an ordinary film. The three stared at the PO somewhat incredulously for a moment and then Gamma asked him: 'Have you never seen Brigitte Bardot?' Beta tended to pooh-pooh the idea of physical attractiveness in one woman as against another, and the others again chaffed at his apparent naïveté, claiming that he would grow up one day and giving him plenty of digs and jibes. He took this very good humouredly and one got the impression that he regarded himself almost as the superior of Alpha and Gamma because as yet he had kept a hold on his emotions. They summarised this thinking around the cinema by their feeling that actually after seeing one 'X' film they got dreadfully bored.

The PO then asked them what they would feel if the public houses were to shut in the same way as cinemas, and this sparked off some interesting revelations. First of all, all three admitted that they were regular users of licensed premises. The fact that they were under age did not appear to concern them at all. Gamma, it appeared, had in the past drunk himself into serious illness, and he told us the story of how two Christmases ago, at the age of thirteen, he had come across a bottle of whisky in his house. He had drunk the lot, and been taken to hospital with alcoholic poisoning. He said that his heart had also been affected. However, he was not deterred — if he wanted a drink he had one. He knew that his father drank excessively and he was prepared to risk the wrath of the old man in order to satisfy himself when he needed a drink. He also thought it had helped

him in his association with his lamented girl. Alpha too was an habitual drinker, and apparently neither of his parents in any way objected. In fact, they both liked their own drink. Alpha had only been drunk twice in his life. Now he had a car, however, he said that he began to see the need for the utmost care. Also he felt that a strong point in favour of his own girl was that she did not encourage him to drink. Beta seemed to be at the stage of exploration, doing things in order to obtain a new thrill. If the lads drank, then he did too. He liked to feel that he was grown up in this respect. At the moment he was passing through the stage when he regarded maturity both as proving himself in terms of resisting the overtures of girls and, on the other hand, as standing his corner in the bar. The fact that they were committing an offence did not in any way bother the boys. The law against drinking under age they felt was nonsense. Why, if you believed everything you heard you would have no pleasure whatsoever!

The PO put the question to them that they might have different feelings in later life if their own children drank excessively, either against the wishes of their parents or unknown to them. What would they feel about this? They got on to a very broad plain here, which the PO felt was again well worth while. The trio took up the subject, which they interpreted as: 'What we wouldn't like to see in our own children.' Alpha took the first bite at the apple. The thing to which he strongly objected was spitting. He could not stand this in any circumstances and he said that he would really jump on his kids if they were seen to do this. Beta said that he did not like lying. If your kids could not trust you then where were you? Gamma said that he would not have his children pinching. He thought the answer here was that if they had plenty of pocket money they would not feel the urge to steal. They found themselves quite unpreparedly examining their own situations in regard to their court appearances. All of them admitted that they were not short of money at the time that they got into trouble, and they were quickly able to grasp that Gamma's point about having more money did not hold water. They therefore examined the situation again and each of them interpreted in turn why it was they had got into trouble.

Alpha, still the natural leader, said that, although no one believed him, his first offence was committed in self-defence and went on to describe fully what took place. The fact that he was sent to Kidlington [detention centre] for this offence had embittered him and he maintained that when he came out he could not care less. This was why he had so soon become implicated in further offences of violence. He was most anxious, however, to assure the group that he realised what a fair crack of the whip he had had following his second court appearance. He knew he did not deserve what he then received, but he wanted to assure them that it had really not only made him think but also steadied him down.

Gamma blamed his girl for his trouble. He was at school. He was frustrated by being at school, mainly because he could not earn money — his girl had somewhat expensive tastes. He admitted that he liked a cigarette — cigarettes were expensive. It was a question of either spending all his money on his girl and going without cigarettes or of finding other alternatives. The only way that he could work it out in his mind was that he should continue to spend money on his girl and break into shops in order to obtain cigarettes. He was not as convinced as Alpha at the moment about his future path, but again he was given a great deal of reassurance by the other two, who again reminded him that if his girl made such demands upon him, then he was damn lucky to get rid of her as he had done.

Beta, still very much the sage of the trio, reserved his judgement until the last. He had involved himself in trouble because he got a kick out of drinking and then indulging in acts of violence. In any case he was with the boys and they were all enjoying knocking somebody about together. This idea of wanting to get a kick from doing something forbidden is a factor that is very near the heart of these youths, and the PO brought up the question of wilful damage. Did they get a kick from wantonly smashing street lamps, destroying road signs and doing unwarranted damage to parked cars? As can be imagined, Alpha, now a car owner, had plenty to say about this. When the PO quoted an instance of damage which had been done to parked cars, he showed an unusual streak of social responsibility, no doubt occasioned by his having joined the ranks of car owners. People who damaged cars should be thoroughly beaten up, he said. It comes to something when you cannot leave your car without feeling confident that it will be unharmed when you return to it. The others were not so sure. Gamma felt that the answer was to damage something belonging to the guilty parties. Beta advised that the law could not be taken into one's own hands and the way to deal with this was to get them before the court. All felt, however, that the present penalties available in courts were not sufficient to deal with this matter, and they showed quite a degree of concern and anxiety about this problem. Perhaps the most valuable point to emerge from this particular discussion was their developing ability to appreciate their own contribution to their present situation.

This session lasted for approximately an hour and a quarter, and could have gone on longer but for the fact that someone was in the waiting-room.

New session

Gamma turned up with a new girl-friend and left her sitting in the waiting-room, coming in to talk about the new situation in regard to himself

before the other two arrived. He did not think it a bad thing that she should know where he came or, indeed, that she should perhaps listen to what was being talked about. This did not worry him in the slightest. He said that with him all things were above board. He had told her he was on probation and he almost gave the impression that he was rather proud of being so. The other two arrived and for the first few minutes they proceeded to rag him, unmercifully over his choice of girl. Alpha said that he knew the girl in question and her young man was in the Army. He found it highly amusing to speculate what would be Gamma's fate when this other beau returned home on leave. He thought he would about kill Gamma.

The PO then directed the thinking into a consideration of what meeting as a group had meant to them and what they felt it had achieved. All were again unanimous in their acceptance of the idea of group work. Beta maintained that it was easier to talk. Gamma said that you found yourself saying many things which normally would not be said, and they went on with this point and wondered whether or not there was sometimes a danger that one could say too much. None of them felt, however, that this had been a difficulty for them. After the subject had been exhausted, Alpha, obviously bursting to say something special, announced somewhat reluctantly that he had become engaged at Christmas. It was his turn to receive the derision of the other two. Beta offered his condolences. Gamma maintained that even he, with all his stupidity, did not go as far as this. However, Alpha rode the storm very well and said that he had felt that Christmas was an ideal time for this to be done. He was certainly not rushing into marriage, however. The conversation turned to Beta. Why was he not interested in girls? Alpha suggested that Beta would be happier if he were married to a beer bottle, since that was about the only thing which gave him any satisfaction. Beta reiterated that he intended to stay put. He had ideas about going into the Navy. He was not rushing into anything. He would just bide his time and if he wanted a girl, or indeed if he did decide that going abroad and seeing the world was the thing to do, he would do it. He was not interested in the feelings of his parents in this matter.

This brought the other two into the discussion and they examined their intentions about the future. The PO could not help feeling that Alpha was more settled than he had been since he had known him. His future seemed pretty well assured in the occupation he was following, making scales. He spoke with a great deal of cordiality about his boss and of the prospects awaiting him in the job. He gave an impression that he was outgrowing some of the tendencies which had run away with his feelings in the past. Gamma remained the doubtful member of the trio. When it was suggested to him that possibly his future lay in the furniture trade, he would not have this. He went on to say that only that night he had told his boss what

he could do with the bloody broom when he had been told to sweep up the shop just after six. He went on to grumble about the attitude of this man and obviously had great difficulty in accepting orders or recognising that people in charge were justified in making demands. He did not know what his position would be when he went to work in the morning but he admitted that it was not the first time he had been a bit hot-headed. Beta reaffirmed his intentions of seeing the world and looking after number one. Both Alpha and he endeavoured to offer Gamma some advice about his work, but the latter revealed that there were still many problems in regard to this which needed sorting out.

CONCLUSION

Evaluation of progress and achievement, whether in regard to the client in the individual casework relationship or as revealed in the movement of a group, is essentially an evasive, complicated and at times tenuous process. It must also be emphasised that any appraisal of this nature is always tentative and of an essaying nature. One is ever mindful of the Arabic proverb: 'In the eyes of its mother, every black beetle is a gazelle.' Much can be attributed to a brainchild of this kind which cannot be scientifically substantiated.

Furthermore, without the aetiology and casework records being disclosed at some length, it is difficult either to reveal the movements or to qualify the significance of the disclosures of each member of the group. After intense discussions lasting for some hours, spread over a period of three months, the participants have, for the time being at any rate, reverted to the more customary arrangement of meeting their PO individually. Both their personalities and their problems have assumed a different hue. In addition to this, their conception of their probation officer and the type of help which can be afforded through the medium of a probation order has been considerably modified.

It will have been seen that there were many healthy indications of rapport which resulted in the confirmation or repudiation of some half-felt impressions. The group considered 'what is', something of 'what has been' and, to a lesser extent, 'what might be' (Perلمان, 1957). The hope that this linking of the past with the future will result in a therapeutic influence upon their social relationships and conduct has up to the present not been confounded.

Finally, no leader of group undertakings can be impervious to their impact upon his own personality. 'If the process of conducting groups fails to have a maturing effect upon you — then your efforts are bound to be worthless to your clients' (Grotjohn, 1950).

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An 'adventure' experiment with boys on probation

M. J. Day

This account of how a group of probation officers ran camps for approved school boys and probationers illustrates a further extension of the group work method into the probation field. Such 'experiments' have probably contributed a great deal to current ideas regarding the nature and value of 'intermediate treatments'. Although objective assessment of the success of such camps in treating delinquency is difficult to arrive at, there is little doubt that the officers themselves gained useful insights from their group experience and that, at least, the probationers were reassured about the personal qualities and commitment of their supervisors.

During 1960 and 1961, the Rainer Foundation (formerly the London Police Court Mission) ran four courses of adventurous activities for delinquent boys. The first two were composed of boys from approved schools, but the real purpose of the experiment was to see whether such courses could helpfully be made available to probationers. All the boys on the final two courses were currently on probation.

Individual officers have in the past run camps for parties of their probationers, but this was the first attempt at drawing together boys from different areas and organising a course of specialised activities under skilled instructors. The idea itself owed much to the success of Outward Bound training and, more precisely, to the encouraging response of delinquents who have attended courses at the various schools. It has often been maintained that such training might be particularly suitable to certain types of adolescents who appear before the courts, and that the number is certainly greater than could be accommodated on courses run by the Outward Bound Trust. At the same time it was appreciated that modifications

would be necessary to meet the special needs of boys with less natural ability and resilience.

The first pilot course of a month was held in North Wales during the early winter of 1960. Coming from approved schools, the forty boys were accustomed to a disciplined routine, and so the primary concern on this, and the second, shorter course for a smaller group of boys (ten) in the spring of 1961, was to develop the mechanics of a course — the range and balance of activities, the best staff-to-boy ratio, the equipment and accommodation required, and to assess running costs.

The results of both courses indicated clearly that a period of outdoor activity away from the normal school setting could be a beneficial part of reformative training. It was concluded that the experience would be of most value immediately prior to discharge. In this way, participation could be a privilege earned by those with enough enthusiasm, and would serve to increase a boy's confidence for his return home. A further reason, and one perhaps which lay behind the scepticism of some approved school masters in evaluating these courses, is that the experience of a more relaxed and informal training is not immediately consistent with a system dependent upon more obvious controls. Coming halfway through approved school training it might have an unsettling effect.

The course with which I am primarily concerned was held in Snowdonia in October–November 1961, and was the first for boys on probation. Twelve in number, they were drawn from different probation areas in London and the Home Counties, and attended for four weeks. No specific guidance was given on the type of boy best suited for the course. The only requirements were that they be between fourteen and eighteen, physically fit, and not severely disturbed. No one professed to define the ideal candidate, and it was hoped that probation officers would be wisely selective. As the experiment develops it should be possible to become more discriminating, but it would be a pity if selection ever becomes so rigid that it disqualifies the apparently unsuitable candidate who might, in the event, respond to a more imaginative approach. The main justification for such facilities is their ability to help boys showing limited response to probation, and it would therefore be pointless to accept only those who were progressing quite satisfactorily and already benefiting from contact with outside groups. An active member of a scout troop or cadet unit might well commend himself as suitable, but probably stands less in need of the experience than a boy with no such interests.

Ages ranged from rising fifteen to eighteen and a half, probably too wide a divergence and future courses might best confine themselves to boys over sixteen with occasional courses for younger boys. Offences committed and personal histories were representative of a typical

probation case-load — larcenies (eight), taking and driving away (two), indecent assault (one), carrying an offensive weapon (one). In personality they were a diverse group, some fairly mature, forceful and independent boys, others whose delinquencies were symptomatic of general behaviour disorders. Two of these had in the past attended for psychiatric treatment. Three boys were in their last year at school, and others either 'between jobs' or variously employed as labourers; one was serving an apprenticeship. Apart from two or three who had very limited experience of camping and canoeing, all were entirely new to this kind of outdoor activity.

They were by no means a bunch of exuberant extroverts who, given the chance, would switch quite easily from driving other people's cars to shooting the rapids. Two were extremely insecure personalities whose delinquencies had been motivated by a need to achieve some kind of status, finding any group threatening and reverting to a childish obstinacy and petulance when subjected to any criticism or stress. In all, seven of the group had experienced difficulty in accepting any form of authority, to varying degrees uncooperative, defiant and suspecting the motives of any person connected with the court.

The staff consisted of three experienced rock climbers, the assistant secretary of the Rainer Foundation, and a probation officer. The day-to-day routine was organised with the aim of developing basic skills in rock climbing, camping, map reading and canoeing, and using these activities to give the boy an awareness of his own abilities and his interdependence with others. The activities were conceived not as ends in themselves but as means of helping boys within the context of an enterprise which would appeal to their imagination and sense of adventure. There was nothing obviously contrived or artificial in anything they were required to do, and the activities could be recognised as adult and exciting. Both river canoeing and rock climbing are potentially hazardous occupations and demand acquired skills to obviate danger. The discipline therefore springs from the very nature of the enterprise and is not something arbitrarily imposed from without.

The total number was divided into two groups, making it possible to give almost individual instruction in the early stages, a necessary arrangement when dealing with boys whose personalities were featured by impulsiveness or extreme diffidence. Every effort was made to avoid undue emphasis on the more rigorous activities and to dispel the impression that this was just a course of physical challenge. Guest speakers were invited in order to stimulate interest in subjects outside the boy's normal experience, original acts prepared for a weekly concert, instruction given in pottery and photography and attempts made at musical appreciation. Most important of all, formal and informal discussions were held on issues presented

spontaneously by situations on the course or relating to aspects of life at home. In the normal probation setting it is difficult to structure a group whose members will be sufficiently at ease to express their real feelings. These boys became secure enough in their relationships with each other to participate quite freely. It is likely that those who came to see value in this discussion could afterwards be introduced to some similar group.

No attempt was made to deal with underlying personal problems. A course of such short duration could indeed be disturbing if it created dependence on an individual caseworker's help, or made a boy rely on the support of a unique group. The intention was to widen the boy's horizon by introducing him to experiences in which he might not otherwise share, and by suggesting the advantages of purposeful group activity. At present the delinquent is usually denied the opportunity of participating in similar group activities within a controlled setting until he has committed sufficient offences to merit removal from home, and by that stage he is unlikely to be at his most receptive. No boy was expected to attain a particular standard of skills, the success or failure of the course was dependent entirely on his willingness to extend himself, and the regime was as informal and relaxed as possible. Each boy was a volunteer and the course would have achieved little if the atmosphere were reminiscent of a detention centre.

RESULTS

The results of the experiment were not spectacular, but to varying degrees and in different ways all the boys benefited. Follow-up contact with supervising officers confirms that the experience made a notable impression and resulted in a deserved sense of achievement. Inquiries about continuing specific activities were made more often than anticipated; one boy displayed immediate dissatisfaction with his routine labouring job and has started training as a draughtsman; another is joining the Merchant Navy. Many of the most real but intangible results are noted in terms of individual confidence and progress. Kenneth, an emotionally disturbed boy whose difficulties stemmed from an unfortunate combination of unsympathetic authority within both the home and school, brought his attitude of hostility and resentment to the course. There were several crises and each time he threatened to leave for home. He was encouraged to stay — not ordered as he had expected — buried his pride and completed the course. During the month his suspicion of authority began to mellow and subsequent discussion with his supervising officer confirms that the experience did enable him to recognise that an authority which respected

his feelings as legitimate and regarded his cooperation as essential might be worth coming to terms with.

ADVANTAGES

I think that four general advantages of such training integrated with probation were suggested by this experiment and justify its continuation.

There is the assessment value. Situations develop which require a genuine response and do not allow for simulated attitudes. A more comprehensive and accurate picture can be formed of a boy in these conditions than during a normal probation contact. The knowledge is of no value unless it can be used and so a full report should be made available to the supervising officer which might give direction to future casework. In several instances very positive recommendations were given and acted upon.

Quite apart from the more subtle 'displacement' delinquency there is a percentage of adolescent law-breaking which does stem from a frustrated search for excitement and adventure. Taking and driving away is probably the most common expression of this behaviour which we might associate with 'hyperthymic' personalities. It would be an oversimplification to suggest that rock climbing or any other outdoor activity can give exactly the same combination of thrills and satisfaction, but these present alternatives which do not meet with the same censure. At least we can demonstrate that the search for thrills is in itself acceptable and it is not this which society is out to suppress. The success of this venture does not depend on the number who pursue similar activities on their return home. It is recognised that only a minority will maintain interest.

The course can reinforce and present in tangible form the whole concept of probation. Boys are constantly reminded that probation is designed to help them but so often supervision develops into a routine of visits which represent a mild inconvenience and therefore punishment. Many rather inarticulate adolescents cannot easily be reached by a formal interview technique and, except when a particular crisis arises, a probation officer is no more than a friendly, encouraging figure in the background. The association of positive and adventurous activity with probation may transform the suggestion of repression and negative control which the word often implies.

All these boys had appeared before the courts, sensed themselves to be social failures and were only too aware of their weaknesses. Here was an opportunity to realise their strengths and attain some measure of self-esteem. Tactful encouragement from staff and the support of companions enabled many to achieve far more than they imagined possible. The nature

of the activities and the inclement weather combined to reveal depths of character which had never previously been explored. Reasonable control which avoids this being a 'make or break' experience enables a boy to attain an awareness of his own potentialities and some confidence in himself.

Encouraged by the success of this experiment the Rainer Foundation has now gone ahead with the establishment of a permanent adventure course centre in Snowdonia. There are obstacles to be overcome and there is still much to learn about the values and limitations of this approach. Clearly it will not appeal to every boy — indeed, it will be suitable for only a minority — but sometimes it might take us nearer than conventional probation to meeting the needs of the fifteen to nineteen age group, and it should add flexibility to a probation order. Although it would be unwise to accept boys at the specific direction of a court there is no reason why magistrates, in making a probation order, should not have this course in mind and make some recommendation to the supervising officer. Experience so far suggests that courses of twenty to thirty boys for a period of one month would be the most beneficial arrangement.

If such training can be accepted as an integral part of probation it will help to break down the obvious distinctions between supervision in the open and residential training and in the minority of cases obviate the need for residential placement.

Group work at Pollington

R. L. Tayler

Group work methods have experimentally been deployed in institutions for delinquents for a number of years. In this section an analytical account of what took place under this heading at one particular borstal is presented by a staff member who was very active in the enterprise. There is little doubt that this kind of group counselling will become more and more common in all rehabilitative and penal institutions in the future.

If we are to be really honest with ourselves, I suppose that most of us, if not directly opposed to change, are certainly apprehensive of it. Let us accept, however, that this is something to be faced if we are to make progress. You will have some idea of our feelings at Pollington, therefore, when we learned that group counselling — foreign to all our basic training — was to be introduced. Along with some of my colleagues, I had always felt some frustration at not being more deeply involved in the training of those in our charge. Even so, I felt that I was inadequate to be thrust into that sort of situation. We were, until about seven years ago, a traditional type borstal with an exclusive casework relationship between housemasters and lads in which the discipline officer had no part. It was quite clear from the start, therefore, that this would call for a re-examination of our personal roles and status. So little was known of group counselling in those early days that its implications were unknown, and to a certain extent this served to increase our apprehension.

As far as the staff were concerned the venture was to start on a voluntary basis; so the choice was ours. It was impossible to define at this point just what was expected but the broad structure in which we were to work was explained to us. It seemed that counselling was to be considered

an essential part of a lad's training and all lads would have to participate. A start was made by dividing the community into groups of about ten, though these numbers were subject to some variation. It was intended that they should meet three times a fortnight with their group worker for sessions lasting one-and-a-half hours. We were not at all clear what was to happen within the groups, and the initial training we were given was extremely limited. We had a few lectures and discussions but little that seemed of real value in fully understanding what we were undertaking. Most of us, however, gained valuable support from our Governor of that time who always showed intense enthusiasm.

We did know that there was to be no set discussion within the groups, and that the group worker's job was not to dominate but to divest himself of his authoritarian role as far as possible and to become an accepted member of the group. It is not surprising, therefore, because of this, and the fact that the groups were to be conducted in a highly permissive atmosphere, that most of us found it a difficult and trying experience. This must have been equally true of the lads who were presented with a situation entirely foreign to them and one which they never expected to find in a borstal. The handling of groups varied considerably in those early days and, indeed, still does, depending largely upon the personality of the group worker. I think it is inevitable that the early stages of all groups will consist of a 'testing out' period, and this is usually in the form of swearing, intense criticism and often hostility. This is a critical time for the group worker, for the whole success of his group may depend upon his tolerance and ability to listen at this stage. Having weathered this, however, there is invariably a settling down period, with most lads finding their own place within the group.

Early frustrations and disappointments were many but eventually we were able to see a pattern emerging — a general acceptance of each other and an increasing confidence leading to a constructive use of the group. Some lads, it is true, find this extremely difficult. Perhaps they are more sensitive or inarticulate. In such circumstances lads are encouraged to seek help outside the group in a face-to-face situation which is, perhaps, less exacting. This is not seen as being an alternative to group membership. Often a lad is encouraged to find that he can identify himself with someone else within the group whose problems and difficulties outside are similar to his own. He then finds himself less isolated and not quite so 'different'.

It soon became apparent to lads that here was an opportunity to 'let off steam', and at times encouragement is given them to do so, as this usually leads to a lessening of tension. But what of the group worker? While it is encouraging to him to see constructive movement in the area of personal

relationships within the group, he is himself left with a variety of feelings. Sometimes frustration, often anxiety, and at times emotional exhaustion. Because of this it is understandable that most of us felt somewhat inadequate at times and in need of support and guidance. Before long, then, it was decided that some sort of staff meeting was essential so that we could share our anxieties and problems and achieve an effective means of communication with each other. In effect, these were to be counselling groups for staff group workers affording us an opportunity to discuss and understand ourselves as well as the problems we were experiencing in the groups. It was agreed that if these staff groups were to be successful, then the same degree of permissiveness should be allowed as that enjoyed by the lads in their groups. Obviously, this was going to be a demanding situation for most of us, especially the Governor. I should imagine that most borstal governors have a fairly close relationship with their staff, but very few will have allowed themselves to be put in a position such as this.

Two staff groups are held weekly — one for each division — lasting one-and-a-half hours, and both attended by the Governor. Even now there are times when we find ourselves rather lost and struggling in these groups, but we have been able to discuss personal relationships at a fairly deep level. Because of this, most of us have a better understanding of ourselves. It will be seen that this is a particularly demanding situation for the Governor, for he must still maintain his traditional role as head of the establishment in the hierarchy of authority. It does, however, give him the opportunity of knowing his staff intimately and to understand, or at least to be aware of, the way they think and feel, and to use them to the best advantage. Conversely, the staff are able to understand the Governor to a greater depth than is usual, and one hopes that all this contributes towards the smooth running of the establishment.

We have now reached the stage where every lad is involved in counselling and accepts it, in varying degrees, as a very important part of his training. Open opposition is rare, although few groups are without their passive members. Sometimes this is a defiant passivity, but more often it is due to their inability to express themselves, together with a lack of confidence. It is true, however, that lads are under some pressure to use their groups, for progress in the group situation is linked to a certain extent with the monthly promotion board. All lads, having obtained their training grade, appear before the promotion board when being considered for further promotion or for discharge. Each lad is encouraged to take an active part in the board situation and, with certain limits, allowed to speak freely. On the lad's degree of understanding, and the depth of his insight gained in group counselling, may depend his chance of promotion. I suppose some people may say that this kind of arrangement for boards is a

luxury they cannot afford, as boards take days to complete. While I agree it is time-consuming, we are managing to do it with a real measure of success here. To appear before a promotion board is quite an ordeal for some lads but it is significant that the majority prefer this and resent the idea of having their progress discussed without themselves being present. Quite a few, however, feel that they would be more responsive to counselling if the link with the promotion board could be broken.

Most of us at Pollington are now engaged in group counselling although, due to varying circumstances, there are still some exceptions. This seems to be a pity, for there is always the danger that this may lead to some friction between the involved in-group and the others. We do, however, hold a general staff meeting every three months, when practically all the staff are able to get together.

The conflicting roles of permissive counsellor and discipline officer which caused some anxiety in the early days has never been a real problem as far as any undermining of authority is concerned. It is true also that, despite the permissive atmosphere that exists on groups, general discipline is fairly rigid.

I suppose, amongst other things, that group counselling is designed to give those involved a greater awareness of what has happened to them in the past and, as a result of this, a better understanding for the future. It is logical, therefore, that we should expect the lads to use this understanding by assuming more responsibility during their training and to become actively involved in the administration of the borstal. To do this, we have developed a system of committees which are responsible for the various activities the lads enjoy. Darts, television, billiards, records and tabletennis, etc., are all clubs and the administration of each is the sole responsibility of its respective committee. Staff involvement in the administrative sense is minimal, though each committee does have a member of the staff attached to it, mainly as a liaison member between committee and Governor. The members are elected to committees as democratically as possible, with all lads given the opportunity to vote. The camp chairman and secretary are elected by a secret ballot of all the lads. In addition, the chairman of each committee is automatically elected to what is called the discipline committee. As far as possible, members of this committee are responsible for discipline within their various activities, with limited power to award penalties for minor infringements of the rules they have made. These penalties are usually in the form of banishment from the club for a short period. We are well aware that this could be open to abuse, but all meetings of this committee are attended by a principal officer who is there to advise and give guidance where necessary. Each lad has a right to appeal if he is not satisfied with the justice meted out. Surprisingly, perhaps, most

lads respond reasonably well to this form of discipline. The camp chairman and secretary preside over a weekly camp meeting which is attended by all lads and the staff on duty. All topics of camp life in general are discussed, with suggestions for alterations and improvements, and the meeting provides an opportunity for all lads to communicate freely. Reports are called for from the various committees and are discussed at the meeting.

It will be seen, therefore, that the life of the camp is dominated by groups and other meetings of one kind or another. With some encouragement the lads come to think in terms of groups and sometimes organise their own dormitory meetings to resolve some problem which may have arisen. All groups and meetings are invariably held in what is normally the lads' leisuretime.

We are often asked what all this means when related to a lad's chance of making good on discharge. I am not qualified to answer this question but I do know that a far better understanding exists between staff and lads and that the barrier of 'them' and 'us' is largely broken down. This, of course, must result in a better working atmosphere.

In order to maintain and stimulate interest, and further our knowledge, refresher courses are run two or three times a year. This kind of outside stimulus is very necessary.

What, then, of the future? How can further progress be made? We have moved forward, yet we can only say that we are at a beginning. If we are really to be fully accepted by lads in our charge and to establish even more helpful and creative relationships with them, I feel that a way must be found of meeting their families in the home situation. We know something of our lads' backgrounds from the various reports which come to the training borstals, and from what they tell us, but this is largely abstract. Many of them see their families as something apart — divorced from their borstal training — whereas, in fact, the two are clearly linked. Parents also tend to misunderstand the situation and often see the staff simply as authoritarian figures, not recognising our therapeutic task in the borstal. I cannot help comparing our position with that of probation officers who have firsthand knowledge of the family situation and have, therefore, a larger measure of acceptance. I am sure that a relationship with a lad's family would be of tremendous value to a group worker because, despite the difficulties a lad may have at home, he naturally remains loyal to his family and invariably is often not happy in discussing them, particularly if criticism of them is involved. How much easier it would be if his group worker knew and was accepted by his family because it must be admitted that we are still too often seen — even in the permissive group situation — as repressive authoritarian figures. As a result certain inhibitions are always apparent. We do try to see as much of parents as we can during visits and

although this is a help it is not enough. We need a much closer relationship with the family. I realise, of course, that there are immense problems in this connection. Borstals would obviously have to be regionalised and within easy reach of the lads' homes. I look forward, however, to the day when such a development is something which at least some of us may enjoy.

In summary, then, I would say that group counselling is a growing-point with much, in its future development, to contribute to the development of borstal training. It seems to be an effective means of:

- (a) Breaking down the 'we/they' barrier of misunderstanding, hostility and suspicion, not only between staff and inmate but also between different grades and types of staff;
- (b) Building up a system of corporate and shared responsibility and consultation giving more effectiveness to training;
- (c) The development of new more satisfying roles, functions and relationships amongst the staff and the development and sharing of new skills more appropriate to the times we live in;
- (d) Establishment of good communications so that every member of the staff knows what is happening and why;
- (e) The development of the 'therapeutic' type of community, in which we may be able to cope more satisfactorily with the problems our charges present us with, and with our own inadequacies and problems, and through which we may be better able to serve the wider community by greater effectiveness in our task of enabling delinquent lads 'to live a good and useful life' on discharge;
- (f) Breaking down the bad 'image' which somehow we seem too often to project, and the creation of a good 'image', as a group of men who find honest pride and dignity of status in doing an important and worthwhile job, thereby gaining the respect, and the support and cooperation, of the society which we serve;
- (g) The development of closer cooperation with other people, probation officers and social workers, who are also concerned with the same problems with which we grapple, and growth in understanding of their contribution and of the relevance of their skills.

Straights and bents together

John Pepper

The involvement of young people in various kinds of volunteer social work projects is a common feature of the contemporary scene. This newspaper account of how a group of well-educated middle-class young people tried to live with a number of young ex-offenders in a commune in Bristol opens up many vital possibilities for the future cooperation of dedicated amateurs in the arduous task of helping discharged prisoners and licensed borstal boys to readjust to normal social life.

Michael Jones, twenty-eight, has a past that reads a bit like the classic dust-flap biography on an author's first novel. He's been a lorry driver, a Nazi in a TV drama, a farm labourer, driving school instructor, boat hand, plasterer, news agency reporter in Portuguese Africa and Chelsea 'mystery man' escort to assorted debby crumpet in the pop gossip columns. He's been known to admit he's had a few identity problems. Nevertheless, in Bristol, Michael Jones has now discovered what he wants to do with his life and has become a pioneer in criminal rehabilitation reform — running a community in which young, educated, and middle-class idealists are living full-time with the newly discharged and working-class inmates of borstals and approved schools, or 'thugs and deviants' in Alf Garnettspeke. The commune has set up in two rather poky old houses, side by side and now joined together, in Fishponds, Bristol.

The idea was that of Christopher Holtom, who runs probation and child-care studies at Bristol University and who sits as chairman on the city's Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders. It was got off the ground, ironically, by the donation of £5 000 from a robbery: the police unearthed the loot from a hiding place but they never could discover to whom it belonged, so they handed it over to BACRO.

The association then set out to create a kind of Summerhill for young

ex-cons under the supervision of a team of young people who by nature of their education, dress, and manners would usually be regarded by the adolescent criminal class as inveterate enemies. Holtom however was determined to break clean from the archetypal voluntary hostel for youths with disturbed and criminal histories in which a resident middle-aged couple tender to their broods with a mild alchemy of good-spiritedness, aphorisms, crossed fingers, and 'plenty of good home cooking'. He wanted not the slightest aura of an institution around his concept. It was to be a 'community' not a 'hostel' or even a 'home', and the accent was to be on freedom, self-expression and self-regulation all the way.

The Home Office weren't exactly wild about the idea, but deciding that it was better to co-opt (and control) radical reformers rather than bloodlet publicly with them, they gave a grudging blessing and an annual financial contribution. Michael Jones, whose sole claim to being a social worker was that he'd spent two years running a coffee bar for Hell's Angels in Croydon, was put on a crash course at Leeds University and got the job of trying to make the Holtom concept work.

His aides-de-camp, also salaried, are Anne Mitchell, twenty-three, a stunningly attractive girl with a sociology degree, and Jim Davis, twenty-five, who read maths at Oxford and went into industry in India as a marketing manager before opting for social work. But it's the boys themselves — up to nine in number — who are encouraged to run the community. They participate in all administration and policy meetings, are allowed remarkably wide freedoms, can vote to expel any of their colleagues from the fraternity, and can themselves choose to walk out at any time and never return, unless bound by probation agreements.

It all began, very quietly, just under a year ago. And since then the youths have accumulated some semblance of an articulacy, community-consciousness, self-awareness and constructive scepticism that were utterly non-existent when they first turned up, silent, sullen and steeped in sorrows, on the doorstep. They have begun, for the first time in their lives, to 'belong'. And they are definitely not second-class citizens in the commune organisation. The staff very often find themselves doing the brunt of the menial work — the reveille-ing, cooking, sewing, cleaning, shopping, billpaying and so on — but that is a vital aspect of the BACRO style: that the staff should be seen to 'belong' too, and not exist as remote authority figures.

That doesn't mean that all's well though. A small number of the comunards have erred and gone back 'inside' or been otherwise dealt with, and in the house staff have been attacked once or twice. There have been feuds and fights, knife-brandishings, non-cooperations and sundry madnesses, which Jones describes as 'unbelievably revolting behaviour'.

Yet he admits that he deliberately creates 'an atmosphere of fight'.

'By creating an atmosphere which is fraught with shock,' he says, 'one is able to work through and resolve problems. You have to get people emotionally stirred up, first of all. You have to cut through conventional niceties that act as barriers and problem-enhancers. It's experiential rather than theoretical learning, both for the boys and for us on the staff. In this kind of situation, let's face it, there'd be trauma anyway as a matter of course. But for all of us in the community, being aware of what is happening, which is what we're working towards the whole time, makes you far more accepting of appalling behaviour. Without this sympathy and tolerance you'd arrive at a situation in no time where you'd really be wanting to kill one another instead of playing out the aggressive charade of appearing to want to do so.'

Great emphasis is placed, indeed, on honest confrontation at all levels in the Bristol community. After years usually of the pettifoggery and demeaning disciplines of life in British penal institutions, the boys find the laxity in their new lives and relationships a toy which they use with a Yuletide fervour, particularly when it comes to abusing staff, a regular exercise which is fun, therapy, learning and admin work rolled into one. The round-table committee exchanges are very often earthily and deliciously comic, too.

Eddy: 'I think everybody shows off in front of Anne. We try to chat it up but she doesn't chat up well.'

Ted: 'We're not her type. We're the lower class.'

Me (guesting): 'Hasn't anyone got into bed with her?'

Ted: 'I don't know.'

Jones: 'That's because her boy friend's six foot four.'

Eddy: 'The staff, they're just using this place for the benefit of themselves.'

Jones: 'I will make a suggestion and Anne and Jim will agree with me, this often happens, so there's a general feeling very frequently that the staff "set things up".'

Ted: 'They do.'

Brian: 'Staff v boys.'

Eddy: 'This place just stops us getting picked up by the law every night and gives you two square meals a day. And a bed to sleep in. I don't really give a damn about the other blocks here.'

Martin: 'Except me.'

Eddy: 'Not even you. I hate your guts. Every day of the week I feel like kicking Jones's head in. If somebody got up in this room to kick Brian's head in, I wouldn't stop him.'

George: 'I find Jones doesn't give any ground any time. He's pig-headed.'

Brian: 'He's pig ignorant.'

George: 'He ought to organise more social events.'

Arthur: 'No, they shouldn't get birds for us. They don't know my taste. His taste is big, tall, buxom. . . .'

Me: 'Whose?'

Arthur: 'Jones. I haven't found mine out yet. I'm still a virgin. Put that in big letters as well. I've never been near to losing my virginity.'

George: 'We ought to have some resident nymphs.'

Jones: 'There's a very hazy possibility of having women living in. The community outside though would generally find it hard to accept because girls who've been in trouble tend to express their delinquency through promiscuity, and that would end up in this place being a baby factory. That's the Establishment fear. I don't think it would help our community here if they came. The girls of the age group of the boys here would always tend to go out with older men anyway. The girls who'd go out with these lads would be gaol bait. Ideally, it appeals to me, but I don't think there's really a lot to justify it other than that it's a nice idea.'

Ted: 'I've had eight or nine girl friends. We bring girls back here.'

Brian: 'I've had two girls in six months. I don't go out much. We don't tell the birds we've been inside unless it's necessary. I told one bird and she said: "That's a laugh." They're not interested in your past. They're interested in your future and what you are now.'

Eddy: 'I've had no girls in six months. I just work and sleep. I'm not interested. Maybe I've been closed up in a children's home too long. You don't see any skirt hanging around here so you don't get interested in it.'

Martin: 'I had a married piece.'

Me: 'Did she enjoy it?'

Martin: 'F . . . knows, but I did. Her husband is twice my size.'

Me: 'Was she good-looking?'

Martin: 'Good enough.'

Ted: 'I'm the first to "do" a bird here. It was kinky, wannit. I wouldn't do it again now I know the rules.'

(Boys' Own Regulations, Paragraph 7. Section C: 'No sexual intercourse on the premises.')

When the boys first arrived they just tended to grunt, eat, and mope. Most of them now have jobs though and all must pay £5.25 a week for their room and board. Community social functions are kept to a minimum. Says Jones: 'We must be very careful not to create an hermetically sealed broiler-house type of environment so the boys become dependent on it for all their emotional, physical, and intellectual needs.'

We provide a minimum so that they're forced to go outside and learn about life outside.

'It must be stressed that this isn't rehabilitation work really in the strictest sense of the word. Rehabilitation implies that somebody has regressed through a point at which they can go back. A lot of the people here haven't got to the point where they can *be* rehabilitated: it's a question instead of learning from scratch. Some of the boys have never "got there" in the first place. They're sociopaths, people who've never emerged from childhood, who still use the methods of communication of a child in order to get what they want. The methods of communication that we take for granted are such as this one now where you and I are sitting opposite each other and talking, where the communication is not only one of words but inflection of voice, movement of mouth, posture, use of the eyes, hands, and so on.

'All these things one learns from babyhood, but when you haven't had a normal childhood, like most of the lads here, you've never gone through this sophisticated process of learning the nuances of communication. You express not annoyances but fits of temper — all the extremes, never the "middles" or the "greys" of emotions. You've never learned to communicate in a subtle way so your own ability to determine how other people are feeling is severely limited. Staff here, you see, are seen not as human beings with feelings largely because the boys don't understand, don't latch on to the normal cues of communication.'

The boys meanwhile, drink and gamble on the premises. They're supposed to be in at eleven at night, but can stay out later if they want to. The rule is simple: 'Do what you want to unless it hurts others or is decreed unwise by the community-in-committee.' The staff have their own bedsit rooms in which the boys wander on whim. It's all very experimental and 'play by ear'. Without the community though nearly all of these youths would probably have been half if not all the way back into institutions by now. As one of the communards (two vicious assaults plus two burglaries) admitted quietly: 'We like Jonesey and the others very much really, and the place has given us a stability we'd never have had otherwise. You can confide in the staff: they're young, not ignorant old fogies. We'd stick up for 'em if they ever got into trouble. They're one of us when it's all boiled down.'

The delinquent, his family and the social group

J. B. Mays

This paper by the editor describes an attempt made some years ago to develop a special type of boys' club which, by making use of traditional groupwork programmes in close association with the families of delinquent children, foreshadows in many respects current thinking on the way in which the new intermediate treatment might develop.

The special contribution that sociologists have made to our understanding of the total delinquency process, the origin, development and consequently the treatment of offenders, lies in their appreciation of the significance of the social group as one of the major determinants of human behaviour. Experiences in the family circle, with the street-corner play group, in a particular class in a particular school in a particular neighbourhood present the growing child with ideas and values that are neither innate nor entirely the product of his individual psychology. He accepts such ideas and attitudes uncritically and on trust as the price he willingly pays for social acceptance. The significance of this in the etiology of delinquent behaviour with its well-established association with gang affiliation is immediately apparent.

What may be termed social as opposed to psychoanalytically orientated therapeutic groupwork makes use of the insights derived from the sociological understanding of the relationship between the individual and his group for remedial and preventive purposes. The concept of the 'transitional community' is perhaps the most apt description of such social groupwork undertaken with children. The group to be described here, which was concerned with the socialisation of juvenile delinquents, may be thought of as providing a bridge between family life and the wider community, and the leaders and workers engaged therein as parent supplements or surrogates offering that degree of affection, interest or discipline

that the children's own parents were unable or unwilling to provide. The therapeutic social group supplies many of the things that the more basic group, the family, has failed to give; a new group is called into being, as it were, to redress the deficiencies arising from the failure of the earlier, primary group situation.

Merely bringing people together releases certain natural therapeutic agents which assist the skilled leader to promote the positive values and attitudes which are deemed socially desirable and individually beneficial. This is usually more effective than mere exhortation or any resort to threats and punishment. The leader strives to create a new face-to-face group, a part of, yet in some ways very distinct from, the rest of the community (but not to be thought of by its members as being in any degree abnormal) where the norms approximate, or can be got to approximate, to the goals and standards he is seeking to promote.

In order to get children to attend such a group, and perhaps to drop some of their street-corner associates, the workers must offer a strong inducement to overcome the initial resistance. Naturally this is a most difficult phase and it is not always found possible to get delinquent children safely over this first step. In the experiment to be described certain pressures, such as parental persuasion or the guidance of probation officers, were made use of to ease reluctant boys into the therapy group. Once there it was left to the attractive nature of the programme and the warmth of attachments built up either with the adults or the other juveniles to recondition attitudes and to modify behaviour.

The Dolphin Club in Liverpool, a boys' club with a difference, was an attempt to provide a therapeutic social group for the purpose of preventing and treating delinquency in a central urban environment. While incorporating some of the traditional club methods in its structure, it had to go a good deal further than the orthodox youth organisation and develop new techniques appropriate to its special objectives. The age of admission was fixed at the age of criminal responsibility [then eight years] and the club continued only up to the time when boys are usually admitted to the ordinary youth organisations, that is to say, round about the thirteenth birthday. By the time a boy had spent four or five years in the Dolphin it was hoped that his behaviour would so have improved and his personality become sufficiently socialised for immediate transfer to a club for adolescents operating in the same building and drawing its clientele from the same locality.

The Dolphin members were divisible into two main groups: the problem boys and the 'easies'. The problem boys were further divisible into those who were known to be delinquent and to have a delinquent history as

defined by a court appearance and conviction, those who were known to be minor or undetected offenders, and finally those boys who were emotionally disturbed. These groups overlapped in some cases; in particular there were boys who were delinquents and who were at the same time disturbed. Most of the members were sponsored, by which is meant they were introduced to the club by parents, other relatives, by school-teachers or by social workers. Twenty-eight per cent of the total intake were introduced by probation officers and about half this number were brought in by schoolteachers. Only a small proportion, five boys in fact, were brought by their own parents. This is itself an eloquent commentary on the general parental attitude. The system of sponsorship was more than a mere recruiting device. It gave the club a further hold on the boy and an additional lever to bring pressure to bear either on the children or the parents. The scheme worked particularly well with probation officers and juvenile liaison officers of the city police, but much less effectively for those cases sponsored by parents or other members of the kin group.

The Dolphin needed to be much more authoritative in its internal leadership than in the adolescent group, partly because the younger boys had less solidarity, a less developed social conscience, than the older boys and partly, too, to provide for those who lacked a reliable and consistent home discipline (perhaps as a result of the death, desertion or absence of the father), a measure of security necessary for their mental stability. The group was purposely kept small, with a maximum of forty and a median membership of thirty, so that leader and helper-member relationships could be as intimate and sustained as possible. Very often it was found that a boy maintained his association with the club on account of his happy personal relationship with the leader or with some other adult worker and that this, rather than the attraction of the various activities or the pull of friendship with other boys, proved to be decisive for overcoming the power of delinquent associations and in promoting satisfactory social adjustment.

The club was opened every weeknight evening for a period of two to two-and-a-half hours, while, during the summer, outdoor excursions, trips and camps were organised at weekends. Members were expected to attend every session and regularity of attendance was stressed when initially negotiating with parents and written into the rules of the club. In the event of absence the full-time leader in charge of the group would usually make an immediate visit to the home to discover what had happened to the absentee. This was done partly to prevent parents being misled into thinking their children were safe in the club when they were in fact roaming the markets or the city streets, and partly to bring home to parents the seriousness of the club's purpose and the extent to which the

workers were prepared to go to assist them in safeguarding their children from criminal influences. Regular and efficient home visiting was in fact the kingpin in the whole of the Dolphin organisation. No boy was accepted into membership without a request from the parent or parents followed by their promise to see that the child attended regularly and arrived back home again within reasonable time. The club, as it were, entered into a form of partnership with the home, undertaking to carry out certain agreed duties concerning the leisuretime activities of youngsters, in return for which the parents undertook to collaborate by sending their children regularly, by encouraging them to take part in the whole programme and by notifying the workers of unavoidable absences and consulting them should any problems related to the children arise. From time to time a very limited amount of financial assistance might be given to families in particular need; for example, to equip a boy to attend a camp or to go on an expedition; there might also be small gifts of clothing or more usually loans. Parents were encouraged to seek out the club workers for advice, and many of them did indeed consult them on the problems their children were presenting. Conversely, the workers could at times take the ball into their opponents' half by giving advice unasked to parents who appeared to them to be failing in their duty or who did not seem to understand the importance of their attitudes in dealing with their children. One father, for instance, was criticised for not expressing and showing in action the affection he said he held for his boy. A mother was given advice about consistent disciplinary treatment and warned of the consequences of alternating between extreme severity and leniency. More than once a father had to be cautioned against using physical punishment or a mother against voicing threats of 'having a boy put away'. At such times the workers went to some pains to explain how such parental attitudes intensified the problems which they with the parents were jointly engaged upon solving. A good deal of parental education and advice on handling children was given; this was occasionally resented and produced a hostile reaction. Usually the home visits went off smoothly because in fact, in spite of bewilderment, ignorance and fear, the majority of the mothers with whom the club workers came into contact were genuinely concerned about the welfare of their children and eager to do what they could to help. This cooperative relationship underlay what earlier in this article was termed acting as 'parent supplements'.

I say 'mothers' advisedly for, although the club had contact with a number of fathers, it was the women of the household with whom for the most part the workers found themselves dealing. The lack of male support in many of the homes from which members derived was one of the noteworthy features of the experiment. Out of a total of sixty-six households

there were thirty-one cases where the fathers were not able to carry out their complete responsibilities owing to working out of the city, desertion of the home, death, divorce or legal separation or to chronic invalidism. By contrast in only two cases were the women not making some effort to fulfil their responsibilities. The fact that nearly half the households lacked a firm, stable male leader is more than likely to have had a significant bearing on the behaviour of the children, particularly the boys, as they approached adolescence, and the evidence suggests a possible connection between delinquency proneness in the sort of subculture where the Dolphin Club operated and the absence or ineffectiveness of the father-figure round about the time boys tend to want to break away from maternal dependence. Hence the extreme importance of the club leader and adult helpers in assisting the boy in the capacity of father figures and parent supplements during this particular phase. The importance of the male role in child development has in recent years tended to be somewhat obscured by concentrating attention exclusively on the mother-child relationship, and is a topic that is likely to receive more notice as our researches into delinquency become more sensitive to the significance of differential parental roles in family life [1].

It will be clear by now that the Dolphin experiment as a piece of 'action research' went rather further than merely providing group experience and recreational activity for a number of difficult boys. A good deal of time and attention was given to individual members and to contact with individual families and, as the project developed, the workers found themselves moving towards a service which would incorporate vital aspects of both groupwork and casework techniques within the same framework. No effort was made to undertake what may be termed 'deep casework', either with parents or children, and the idea of psychoanalytical methods or treatment was at no time envisaged. The sort of casework practised by the club workers was largely that of the old-fashioned and well-established kind universally undertaken by such people as probation officers who, although in attempting to understand an individual's behaviour might make use of psychiatric insights, are not qualified to make use of kindred techniques at a treatment or therapeutic level. The novelty of the Dolphin Club lay, therefore, on the one hand, in the efforts made to overcome most of the usual objections to the more traditional types of boys' clubs, such as danger of excess numbers and consequent contamination, tackling children at too late a date and, on the other hand, the strenuous endeavour made to establish creative relationships with fathers and mothers in the bond of a two-sided working partnership.

The membership of the club contained a high proportion of boys with behaviour problems; many of them were actually and most of them

potentially delinquent. This group, fifty-five strong, formed the kernel of the experiment and it was upon success or failure with this type of member that the value of the club as a method of delinquency prevention and treatment depended. Forty-seven of these 'problem' boys were ascertained to be delinquents while the remainder were clearly psychologically disturbed. As might be expected with such a problem-saturated group, there were numerous failures — judging success by whether a boy was retained in membership for a reasonable period of time and showed indications of improved behaviour, i.e., less delinquency or less strained personal relationships, and failure by the loss of boys, deterioration in behaviour and, in some cases, committal to approved schools or other residential institutions. Some of the severely delinquent boys were received too late into membership and their delinquent habits were too deeply ingrained for the club workers to achieve any remedial result. Other children received so little support from their parents that most of the workers' efforts were neutralised and made ineffective. On the whole, the club seemed to be least effectual with those boys who came into membership after already having been convicted of one or more offences. Only six out of the twenty-eight boys in this category were successfully retained.

Fourteen of the boys categorised as 'disturbed', i.e. exhibiting signs of emotional maladjustment, were delinquent while eight were non-delinquent. The groupwork—casework methods were reasonably successful with these emotionally disturbed non-delinquents and the permissive atmosphere of the club and the intimate and sustained affection of the club leaders and helpers seemed to provide a measure of reassurance that was obviously therapeutic. Ten 'disturbed' members, five delinquents and five non-delinquents, were retained in successful membership.

Antony, an anxious, neurotic child, who was one of the non-delinquents, responded well to individual attention and interest. Sometimes he behaved quite hysterically, losing all self-control and wildly screaming and throwing himself about the room, but face to face with a sympathetic and understanding adult he could maintain his even keel and behave in a thoroughly normal manner. An indication of his growing confidence was revealed when the club workers succeeded in getting him to go to a cinema and sit through the entire performance without fear or panic almost for the first time in his life. Antony needed constant attention, a measure of shielding within the group. In the hurly-burly of the orthodox youth organisation he would very likely have become much worse.

Apart from the delinquents and the disturbed members the club possessed a group of benign boys who were comparatively easy to handle and who, though being to some extent delinquent risks in a criminogenic

environment, were not in any desperate need of the club's ministrations. There were thirty-six non-problem members, of whom only nineteen were successes. The majority of this group who left for unsatisfactory reasons did so as a result of parental indifference and laziness.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PROBLEM OR DIFFICULT MEMBERS

Delinquents	46	
Non-delinquents	<u>8</u>	54
<i>Total number of apparently undisturbed, non-problem members</i>		<u>34</u> <u>88</u>

ANALYSIS OF FIRST THREE YEARS

<i>Problem cases</i>	<i>Failures</i> (%)		<i>Successes</i> (%)		<i>All members</i> (%)	
Delinquents:						
Official	21	72	8	28	29	100
Unofficial	6		11		17	
Non-delinquents, disturbed or problem cases (non-delinquents)	3 } 9	36	5 } 16	64	8 } 25	100
All problem cases	30	56	24	44	54	100
Non-problem cases	19	56	15	44	34	100
All members	49	56	39	44	88	100

The significant fact about these statistics is that the failure rate for the problem and for the non-problem boys is the same, almost certainly a reflection of the fact that special care and attention was given to the difficult cases in terms of intensity of home contact and of sympathetic handling in the club itself. At the same time a significant difference can be noticed between the high failure rate for official or convicted delinquents and the high success rate for the unofficial delinquents and the non-delinquent members. In so far as it is possible adequately to assess the work of a club like The Dolphin in statistical terms at all, and allowing for the fact that failure as a club member does not necessarily imply further deterioration any more than sustained attendance at club precludes the possibility of a further lapse in the future, it seems reasonable to say that

the club's efforts were more successful with boys who were early or minor delinquents, but that, on the other hand, even with the more severe delinquents, the chances of being able to help them seemed to depend to some extent upon the degree of parental support and cooperation obtained.

There is nothing particularly unexpected or remarkable about the results of this experiment. Nor is it always easy to say exactly why a particular boy benefited or appeared to benefit from the methods employed. Were there time and space one would wish at this stage to have a look at the records of particular individuals and try to trace out the subtle ways in which habits were changed and attitudes modified. Two case histories selected from the group of successful members will have to suffice, but they may in part illustrate how the casework-groupwork technique worked out in actual daily practice.

Randy was one of the earliest members of The Dolphin and after four years he was successfully carried through without major disaster until he was old enough and stable enough to join the senior branch of the organisation. He was an intelligent boy but severely handicapped by an unfortunate family background, the father having deserted while he was an infant and his mother having remarried. Randy had four half-brothers to compete for the affection of his mother, and, as a result of this competition and the sense of his own difference and possible inferiority, he lived in constant dread of being finally abandoned. Emotionally insecure, he not unnaturally sought compensations outside the home and quickly rallied to his leadership a gang of younger children whom he was clever enough to be able to coerce into accompanying him on a series of delinquent activities, involving several breaking and entering offences and many larcenies. Randy found adjustment through the club a long and chequered business. Twice he was in court and twice the club leader was able to support him through this crisis and, with the help of his probation officer, strenuous efforts were made to save him from being sent to an approved school. Randy's gang were not members of the club, with the result that he was something of an isolate with no one to boss and no one to obey him. His behaviour was generally aggressive, egocentric and exhibitionist. He sought attention through ill-temper and various forms of provocation. The club workers made a special fuss of him whenever possible, giving him privileges and presents and refusing to be put off by any aspect of his behaviour. This treatment proved ultimately effective. He responded to the adults, made personal friends of some of them and found through constant and close association father and mother figures to whom he could relate with confidence and affection. As time went on he became more sociable, less

of an isolate in the group and made overtures of friendship to other boys. Perhaps the best indication of his maturing could be seen in his increased ability to suffer mild frustration and to accept minor disciplinary action. The features of special interest in Randy's case were the intensive individual and compensatory attention he received, coupled with the gradual easing into a group situation, where he ultimately stimulated less hostility. Without the group's existence and the chance of other boys to whom he could relate, the individual attention and affection might have been wasted when the moment of parting — that is to say, of growing up and passing on into a senior group — came. Equally the impact of the group in a raw situation without personal support and adult interest might have made him even more of an outsider and delinquent than his experiences with his street-corner associates.

Charlie Hands, unlike Randy, was never socially isolated in the club. A tough urchin type of boy, hands and knees dirty, clothes torn, hair all over the place, he alternated between surliness and friendliness, between aggressive hostility when he hated the world and all in it, and sunny cheeriness when he was happy to cooperate with all and sundry. His home situation was largely responsible for these conflicting attitudes, which mirrored his inner emotional problems. His mother had no control over him and her only technique was either to ignore him altogether or to use bribery. His father neglected him and only interfered when personally irritated, when his only form of discipline was to use his belt and give the boy a severe thrashing. His attitude to his father consisted of blind hatred and secret emulation. Charlie became a shoplifter in the manner and tradition of the neighbourhood, always in the company of other boys, and as a result he acquired a bad reputation in the district and many parents tried to prevent their children associating with him. When he got into trouble and appeared in court the club workers stood solidly beside him, not condoning his offence but making it plain that they did not repudiate him as a person in any way. Slowly Charlie gained confidence and became much less aggressive. The actual club programme assisted him in many ways. He was a solid, muscular type and he was able to excel in games and sports and display his prowess and reap the reward of prestige and captaincy. He had his lapses, times when, probably because of some trouble at home, he swore at the workers, attacked other boys and generally took it out of the world and society. Consistent handling and firm but sympathetic and, above all, forgiving discipline saw him safely through these regressive periods until at the end of his club career he became a pillar of law and order and actively associated himself with the goals and ethos of the club. He learned to control his strong feelings, to accept rules for the sake of ultimate pleasures and he found too, one suspects, in the constant

relationship with the male workers, support to strengthen himself in his relationship with his father. In his case, as opposed to Randy's, the actual group experience, the give and take of organised life and the outlets made available for the safe release of basic urges provided the most important key to his eventual social adjustment and avoidance of crime.

The logic of the Dolphin experiment is that efforts to assist families to discharge their responsibilities more effectively are well worth while. The policy of family supplementation paid rewarding dividends. If in certain instances delinquency is partly the result of ineffective family relationships it is well worth while spending time, money and effort in offering realistic sympathy and services which may help the family over a phase of particular danger to boys approaching puberty. Boys who live and grow up in neighbourhoods where there is a strong delinquent tradition are in particular danger at this time and need all the help that society can muster to see them over the hurdle of the dangerous years. Where home life is inadequate and the environment is criminogenic a special effort is demanded. New agencies of a character similar to the Dolphin Club have a contribution to make to any large-scale social programme designed to prevent juvenile delinquency. The methods used in running the club are not entirely novel nor are they likely to be successful with all problem children. It is but one possible method of tackling the job, one further tool in the therapeutic armoury. Delinquency has a variety of symptoms and arises from a multiplicity of complex interrelated causes. It is reasonable therefore for us to equip ourselves with a variety of palliatives and a wide choice of remedies, one of which is the type of specialised boys' club and transitional community between childhood and maturity, between the home and the wider community, epitomised in the Dolphin experiment.

REFERENCE

1. See R. G. Andry, 'Faulty paternal and maternal-child relationships, Affection and Delinquency', *British Journal of Delinquency*, 8, No. 1, 34-48.

Informal youth work in a café setting

B. Biven and H. M. Holden

Another kind of experimental youth project, centred on a café which operated in a lower-class district with a high crime and delinquency rate, is described here. The results remain inconclusive, but the methods used suggest ways in which informal approaches to difficult young people might be developed apart from the existing and more orthodox youth service provisions.

THE PROBLEM

The district in which the café is situated, which here is called Shuttleton, is notorious for its high rate of crime and juvenile delinquency. Although it shares many features in common with other poorer districts, it presents certain peculiarities also. Its boundaries are quite sharply defined – about one mile square, and although these boundaries are invisible in that the surrounding districts look very similar, there exists within them a kind of village community atmosphere with strong internal loyalties combined with very considerable mistrust and hostility towards anyone living outside. The local residents are universally working class and nearly all professional people working in the area, together with most of the larger shopkeepers and businessmen, reside outside. The condition for 'acceptance' by the community is residence, thus the split between 'us' and 'them' is intensified by the class barrier.

Until ten years ago most of the district consisted of semi-slum tenement buildings, three- or four-storey houses each with its own backyard, which were shared by several families. As a result of a vigorous rehousing campaign most families are now housed in modern airy blocks of council flats, each surrounded by an area of lawn. The result is aesthetically more

pleasing and undoubtedly far more comfortable and convenient than the old tenement slums although perhaps something has been lost also; there is a certain aseptic clinical feeling about these blocks which jars against the essential warmth and closeness of the community. There remain islands of older houses which have yet to be cleared and it is perhaps significant that the main street of Shuttleton, the heart of the district containing the market and the shopping area, is one of these. The inhabitants have accepted the rehousing programme as they accept most things, in a passive way, as something that is being done to 'us' by 'them'.

The population of Shuttleton is not a particularly stable one; nevertheless it has retained its essential attitudes in spite of the changes over at least 100 years. It is comparatively easy to become accepted if you live in the district and although there are a large number of immigrant families, European and coloured, racial intolerance, although it exists, is not a major problem.

Most of the residents of Shuttleton are employed locally in the traditional light industry. A consequence of this, and of the prevailing suspicion of the outside world, is that until quite recently many of them scarcely ever ventured beyond its confines. This certainly used to apply to the young people of the district, for whom a journey into the surrounding city was a major event in their lives. In recent years however they have become more venturesome and now tend to look beyond Shuttleton for their entertainment.

Shuttleton has for many years been a centre for much charitable social work of all kinds. The community tolerate and absorb this work, rather like a sponge. That is to say they are quite ready to reap the benefits if they are provided with, for instance, a new youth club, without ever feeling that it belongs to them and that it could be their own responsibility. Undoubtedly this state of affairs is perpetuated by the attitude of the authorities and perhaps some of the social workers themselves. Shuttletonians tend to be regarded as irresponsible children who are incapable of managing their own affairs and they have in consequence accepted this role.

Typical of this state of affairs is the relationship of the community with the police. Here deep mistrust exists on both sides. The police are of course recruited from outside the area and Shuttleton is an unpopular station. Police tend to walk about in pairs, they are on the lookout for trouble and prepared to see it almost anywhere. Any teenager tends to be viewed as a potentially dangerous Mod or Rocker. They adopt a peremptory manner with any group of youngsters whom they chance to find and are unable to see how this provokes them into behaving in just the manner they expect. They look for the worst in people and they soon find it. It

would of course be wrong to blame the police for the high incidence of petty crime in the district but we believe that their attitude is one of the factors that perpetuates it.

There are a number of youth clubs in the district. These are well organised and equipped along traditional lines, and they provide plenty of outlets for those who are prepared to use them. The problem is that there exist a considerable number of adolescent boys and girls who do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to these clubs and who do not use them. Some of these youngsters have been excluded by the clubs themselves, others have tried them out but have not found what they needed there. Some, perhaps a high proportion, could be deemed 'emotionally disturbed' to a greater or lesser extent. Lacking any other social outlets they tend to drift around the streets of Shuttleton, from one cafe to another, looking for amusement or excitement, and inevitably they tend sooner or later to get involved in crime.

A group of people who have been involved with the district, mainly social workers and probation officers, have for some time been concerned about the predicament of these adolescents. It seemed to them that these young people, because of their refusal to conform to an established traditional pattern (that laid down by the orthodox clubs), were gradually being split off from the community and that as their sense of isolation grew so they felt drawn increasingly to self-destructive modes of behaviour. It occurred to them that perhaps it was the clubs rather than the youngsters who were wrong, and that their rejection of what they regarded as outmoded could be a healthy sign, provided some alternative outlet could be found for them.

The result after many years of trial and error has been the café, which is here described. The present project . . . owes its existence to the single-minded devotion and untiring energy of one local probation officer, Mr D. Shuttleworth, after whom the district is named in this paper.

After years of agonising delay, caused by lack of premises and lack of money, a café was obtained, a manager appointed and the café opened for the first time in February 1963. The café is situated in the main street of Shuttleton and consists of two rooms in a house occupied by its previous owner. The café proper is approximately 20 by 15 ft in area and contains a counter, benches, tables and chairs. The other room is a small kitchen behind the counter about 8 ft square. The whole is attractively and cheerfully decorated. The café provides tea, coffee, soft drinks and sandwiches only, and contains no other equipment apart from a record player. It is open every evening from 7.30 to 11.00 pm, and since it is a café rather than a club there is no membership and in principle it is open to all who wish to make use of it. In practice it attracts precisely those for whom it

was intended and very few adults ever use it. No secret is ever made of its intentions nor of the role of the manager and the committee.

The café is run by a manager and two assistants. The manager is a trained youth leader with special understanding and experience of the needs of adolescents. They are assisted by voluntary helpers when necessary so that a minimum of two people is always on duty.

The aims of the project might be defined as follows:

1. To provide for the adolescents of the area who could not find what they wanted in orthodox clubs an alternative meeting place in a setting with as few rules and restrictions as possible in which they can feel accepted.
2. That by making relationships with a mature adult and through his understanding and influence both with individuals and with the group, they might be able to work out for themselves more mature social outlets than those which they have adopted hitherto.

The project might therefore be termed an experiment in social group therapy.

The first manager had had no formal training in youth work, but some experience of work of a similar nature. He was hampered by his youth and relative lack of experience and also by the difficulty — in view of the newness of the project — of defining his own role. As soon as the café opened it attracted the clients that had been hoped for, however although the manager was able to form quite close relationships with individual boys and to appreciate their need for help, there was an outbreak of petty destructive activity among the group as a whole, made primarily to test him out, and this eventually reached such proportions that he had to close the café and felt obliged to resign from the post of manager. Appreciation is due to him for breaking new ground and for revealing the problems, and the committee has profited by his experience.

The café reopened in February 1964 under the leadership of Mr Biven with his wife as assistant manager, his account of his experiences and the conclusions he has reached follows this section as an independent contribution.

HMH

THE MANAGER'S ROLE

The café has now been open eighteen months. The development neatly divides into three phases of six months duration; the 'testing-out period', the 'Struggle for supremacy' and 'Consolidation and the future'.

The first phase was marked by a request for control, but a control that would coincide with their image of authority. The initial months were a prolonged test of the management's patience, tolerance, interest and

understanding. It had to be so. The concept of a youth worker running a café specially for young people and particularly for difficult ones, was still very new and mysterious. The customers wanted to know, rightly, why a youth worker chose to run a café in an area which had a high reputation for delinquent acts. They wanted to know what the manager's function was and who owned the café. When told that a voluntary committee employed the manager they wanted to know what for, and as they did not understand clearly what the administrative set up was, it was natural for them to challenge the manager's own standards and values. 'Will he "grass", is he a hired informer or a preacher, or a cop in disguise?'

These and many more doubts had to be thrashed out for the café to exist at all. The fact that the customers were intensely interested in the management was an indication of their willingness to make a contact. This interest provided the basis for an ongoing relationship. Because of my new ambiguous role the young people found it difficult to see how one person could do two or more jobs. Their doubts swung from the image of the law abiding social worker to the fear that I was some kind of shrewd pimp, or homosexual or 'fence'. Only over a period of time could the management show just what and who they were. But it seems inevitable that to be able to make contact at all the management must maintain a precarious middle-of-the-road position between the police and the lawbreaker. It is not so much a question of condoning but of not condemning. I can only share the view of Mary Morse (1965) writing in *The Unattached*: 'It came to be recognised that there is a degree of antisocial behaviour which the worker has a duty to report to the Police', if the person or persons have been told beforehand what the intentions of the worker are and why he feels it necessary to go to the police. Making this kind of stand accentuates the point that the manager must be prepared to discuss his own values, to involve himself with the young people and to be questioned about his private life. The worker who is unable to reconcile his own views on authority with those of the young people he is in contact with will be continually put to the test until a comfortable compromise is reached. If the worker cannot adjust then he will be pushed to the limits of his tolerance.

Thus I had to establish my position as a non-authoritarian, while maintaining a subtle authority whereby the customers could accept me as someone interested in their happiness but who would also attempt to limit their antisocial behaviour. Once they were secure about my role they demanded assistance and advice. But it has been difficult for most of them, after an instance of violence or theft, to accept a non-punitive attitude. During the early weeks they were very bewildered by my passivity towards their delinquent acts and the instances of wild behaviour

within the café increased until they became frightened by their newfound freedom in the face of a person who was by profession an authority figure and yet apparently unwilling to control them. Given the opportunity to exercise self-discipline they found it difficult to control themselves in a way they would like. They tended to abuse the extra responsibility of self-discipline because they had not been taught to see that the one ultimate authority is themselves. Many were inarticulate and because of this, the initial testing-out period took a rather wild destructive form where it was difficult to see that it was the people not the property that they were primarily interested in. They directed their attacks on the juke box, tables and chairs. Benches collapsed, cups and saucers broken and pictures torn from the wall. The pieces would be reverently brought to the counter with profuse apologies. Sometimes a boy would kick the front of the juke box and turn, look me straight in the face as if to say, 'I've just kicked your juke box, now what are you going to do?' Not all of the search for their own limits was directed against property. There were many instances when girls were mauled and punched. Handbags were stolen and the contents thrown into the street. It was particularly painful to witness an unkind attack on a girl although the girls seemed to find it less so than I did. Although I am sure the girls would have preferred different behaviour, any attention from the boys is better than none at all.

It was this ambivalence which was probably more difficult for me to live with than those living through it. This is not to minimise their difficulties or unhappiness but in a sense I was forced to live through, again and again, painful aspects of my own adolescence. Much of the time it was very necessary for the young people to work through their fears about themselves, the opposite sex, and about the manager seen as a combination of an authority figure and friend. Firstly the boys, and then the girls, became able to talk about themselves and their behaviour. The wild behaviour subsided and the atmosphere changed. Cloward and Ohlin (1961) have shown that 'violent behaviour appears to diminish rapidly when a street worker establishes liaison with a street gang'. The reason being that the gang no longer feel rejected, someone has taken notice and it is the beginning of social acceptance. The café kids want acceptance and need a contact with a sympathetic adult, but this need only increases frustration because the very behaviour used to attract attention, coupled with their inability to accept conventional adult norms, causes alienation from adults. But progress has been made, the concept of a youth worker assuming a different role and being deeply involved in their lives has been accepted.

With acceptance came further demands to formalise the café. Now they were more certain that the café was a legitimate offer of help, there were

attempts to gain an exclusive security by restricted membership. This had to be avoided at all costs, for the café under these circumstances would very soon resemble a conventional youth club with its rules and restrictions; which in turn would discourage those very people we wished to help. The essential factor of management has to be one of adult interest and assistance rather than adult interference although one recognises that the establishment of a café project is, in itself, an interference founded on the assumption that adults know what is best for young people.

Through the initial stages the customers were drawn mainly from a nearby street and were known locally as 'the Thyme Street Mob'. Most of the property in Thyme Street is due for slum clearance and it is known that some of the hardened criminals of the area live there. Many of the children from this street have been convicted of more than one offence since their early teens and it was from Thyme Street that the café gained its early nucleus of users. The potential thief finds that access to his goal is governed by a host of criteria, a selection procedure which defies a category through which few emerge with honours. Perhaps the majority of the café customers are those that fail. Not only are they at variance with the norms of society but they have also failed to succeed in the criminal world. In a sense they are social misfits who can raise little enthusiasm for their future life. Because of the lack of amenities in the area they would hang around the street or sit on the steps of a block of flats. Even if the café committee had no other intention the very existence of a warm building would have provided a much needed service. However, it was this group that were in control towards the latter part of the first six months.

But it was a precarious control, shadowed by memories of the café's history and doubts about the present manager's intentions regarding strangers. It was no passing whim which caused them to ask for a membership club. They knew that I made all welcome, regardless of which area they were from or whether they had been previously rejected by the majority due perhaps to some mental or physical disability. It was during these rather delicate weeks that some of the boys in the surrounding areas heard about the café, and they were soon sending out scouting parties to see if it was possible or worth while to take us over. There were the Newgate Boys and the Symington Mob from the west and the Junction Boys from the east. Fortunately they did not come in force nor did the groups arrive on the same nights.

At this point I decided to make a stand for continuing the 'open café' policy. It was seen that inevitably such an enforcement would arouse some hostility from the original café group. But it would have been disastrous to have stood back from this issue; any action that seemed to support them in their attempts to convert the café into a fortress would be contrary to

my wish to break down intolerance and prejudice, and would have caused the café to be a lush military target, made particularly difficult at this time as the Press were giving large coverage to seaside Mods and Rockers battles. Small groups of ten to fifteen boys from the other areas then began to visit the café. It took some time for a few of them to walk straight into the café, so primarily from a feeling of safety rather than cordiality, I made a point of going out and telling them what the café was and inviting them in. From then on they had to change tactics. Many groups eventually retreated not seeing anything they particularly wanted but letting me know before departing that they 'could really take this place over, you know, if we brought all our mob', but not before some blood had been spilt during a few isolated skirmishes.

Two groups then remained, one of fifteen boys, seventeen to eighteen years old, from a small business area one-and-a-half miles away; the other four boys were from an old residential area one mile away in the other direction. These two groups seemed unwilling to use any force at all (although I later discovered most had records of GBH and assault), their efforts at control were based on dominance of personality and sheer weight of numbers on any given evening. At this time a number of the older, tougher local boys were serving sentences and this may have influenced the Junction Boys to stay. However, they gained undivided attention and later affection from the local girls. It was true that there was a great deal of friction during the early part of their regime but, in general, because they were very likeable personalities the café regulars were able to accept them. They were a very lively amusing crowd, good dancers (this is the only period when dancing in the café flourished) and fond of a lengthy discussion about anything. But they were very tough with their girl-friends who were doing their best to crack the 'Let's stick together boys' attitude.* Although they knew who the manager was they asked little about my precise function and one can only assume that because the locals had accepted me, they thought I was a safe contact.

Under pressure from a number of café users I began to organise two or three weekend trips to a cottage in Somerset owned by my wife. At first I was reluctant to organise anything, I was afraid the café might become just another youth club and I have continually resisted demands to organise games and sports within the café for this would rob the café of its essential element of free usage. A feeling of easy come, easy go, is necessary to attract the boy and girl who are unable to tolerate an organised atmosphere.

* Four of this group revealed a few months after that they had recently become engaged to the girls described.

It has been shown in a number of studies that delinquents are less likely to have belonged to a youth club. The need for young people to perceive themselves as adult and be treated as such is of paramount importance even if their behaviour sometimes suggests otherwise. To assist towards these ends the trips from the café were organised more in the frame of mind that 'We are going to Somerset this weekend, would you like to join us?' Attempts were made to select particular individuals, those who it was thought would benefit most from a change of environment, short as it may be. Much thought went into selection, being careful to ensure that the Thyme Street Mob were in the majority. But often I failed to attract the persons I thought would have gained a great deal. One or two of the Junction Boys came along but we felt that in a small group the greater degree of intimacy between the locals and management relegated them to a minor role which was out of keeping with their self-image of dominance. A small group (not necessarily of their choosing) away from home, requires a deeper expression of friendliness such as a member would normally give only to his best friend. They sense the intimacy of the group – usually not more than three boys and three girls – and more often than not feel the need to work towards the common goal, that of the group's enjoyment. There is a greater determination to enjoy the experience than there would be with a more socially adequate group. The explanation of this might be the rarity of the experience coupled with a desire to make one immediate part of their lives a success.

The weekends would be fairly unstructured, perhaps a night walk over the moors and a barbecue, sailing or just walking around a nearby seaside resort. This kind of experience encourages interest in each other and provides an opportunity to mix with people from varying cultural backgrounds. Further weekends were organised to North Wales for camping and climbing. These were particularly successful as the boys always returned with such a sense of achievement. I found it most exhilarating to hear boys talk for hours about the beauties of a Welsh mountain valley or the magnificence of cloud formations. The underlying philosophy of all the work and particularly the weekends is an attempt to show a deeper meaning in life and how, with greater insight, they may be able to develop their powers and talents more fully.

So now the café seemed to have thrown off some of its notoriety and settled into a routine of vague respectability. I was concerned that we should not become too institutionalised for fear of losing the more disturbed customers, while trying to get away from the fad of petty theft within the café, and attempts to bamboozle the management, for these are only barriers to communication. About this time, one year after opening the café, some of the older Thyme Street Boys returned to the area. It was

a sign for the Junction Boys to move on. Whether they were already thinking of going or were intimidated by the old Thymers is hard to say, but it may have been a combination of both and the pressure from their girl-friends to spend more evenings alone.

Once again the area controlled its own café, but many of the Junction Boys and others dropped in about once every six weeks, just to see if 'they've closed you down yet'. Quite by chance I assumed a further role, that of an individual 'counsellor' basically not very different from the job I was doing but practically a very different kind of communication. It began one evening while I was repairing a table some hours before opening time. A boy whom I knew well called through the keyhole and asked to be let in. He asked if I needed any help but without waiting for a reply began to bang in a few nails in appropriate places. While this was going on he talked continuously about his new girl-friend, apparently unable to bear a minute of silence for fear this would embarrass us both. When the job was finished he offered to come in again some other night. This he did and we were soon able to rid ourselves of the compulsion to do something while we were talking but nevertheless doing small jobs if they did not obstruct the trend of conversation. Other boys, and occasionally girls, began calling in ones and twos at this time and it is now one of the traditions of the café. It is extremely difficult to know just how this extra 'therapy' is viewed. One of my original fears was that it would grow into an ordinary café evening, just somewhat earlier. But very rarely has this session been abused. One is tempted to think along the lines that they recognise one another's right to discuss their problems privately and if they see someone in the café they go away. I feel that this regular evening discussion marked the beginning of the consolidation. It somewhat stabilised the café's activities and gave a more profound reason for the work far beyond my highest hopes.

Right up to this time I had never really accepted that the café would stay open. Even when I was confident about a particular decision there was always a niggling doubt that they would turn against me because they saw, rightly, that they were being 'got at'. I suppose this was a legacy from the testing-out period. I had long ago learnt the need to be consistent whatever pressures were applied. For example, an hour before opening time the door would be kicked and hammered unceasingly. I often felt this was an attempt to unnerve me and that if I opened early they would feel contemptuous of me for pandering to, what they also knew to be, unreasonable demands. After three months or so it quietened down to an occasional knock five minutes before time but the interesting development of this was that a customer walking by the café any time during the day would give the door a little pat, and this continues to the present day. But

many forces are at work all the time. The doubters who constantly ply the management with stolen goods hoping they will continue to refuse, the wild ones looking for anything which will provide a few laughs, and the well-intentioned who would take over complete control for want of an outlet for self-expression, responsibility, and initiative. However, they are all united in the desire to keep the café open, deliberately teasing the manager with gl'ib expressions of support like 'Keeps us off the streets', and 'We only get in trouble when you're closed'! Although their initial vocabulary is peppered with narrow aphorisms of the American movie variety, like 'A man has to do what he has to do', they can verbalise for hours once their interest and enthusiasm has been aroused.

I think perhaps this is the key to the whole project. The manager must act as a stimulus to assist young people to see maturity as an individual and social responsibility. He must offer incentive while placing the responsibility for their actions squarely on their shoulders. It is a waste of time and energy trying to suppress their antisocial tendencies. They must be offered a choice of socially acceptable alternatives. What seems so desperately depressing about many of the café kids is that they feel hopelessly resigned to their position, with a haunting fear that they have been condemned to a life lacking in social respect and usefulness. They feel cheated by the narrowness of their lives and can only try to blot out the thought of fifty years uninteresting and unproductive work. Hence their bad work record and difficulty in sustaining an interest in anything for very long. Obviously the main part of our work can be seen in terms of encouragement and their need to talk to an adult about the things that trouble or interest them. But there are scores of instances when immediate practical help is most needed. Assistance with job finding, a 'character' reference in a court case, or visiting boys in detention centres and borstals. This is not to create the impression that we are doing all we can. The last year has been one of lost opportunities through being unable to move fast enough to take advantage of situations as they arise. It is true we are dealing with a disturbed minority and ought not to expect drastic results, nor should we be unduly worried that the café becomes a focal point for delinquent expression. But what is worrying is that this minority could well grow to alarming proportions. The death of the present Youth Service primarily want is a social centre and, secondly, that the choice of activities provided could well be run more economically and efficiently by the local amateur clubs devoted to one particular activity. If we accept Musgrove's (1964) argument that 'the segregation of the young from the world of their seniors has given them a special position in society. In some respects it is a position of diminished rather than enhanced social status', then it is

not unreasonable for the Youth Service to take radical measures. I fear if we don't we may well follow the American pattern of a powerful adolescent subculture — its disturbed minority indulging in a high degree of organised violence — while the family and adult contacts diminish as the gang takes over responsibility for its members' actions. Therefore, where adult-centred clubs do not exist they should be provided. Equipment that is rotting away because a particular group has lost interest could be released from the acres of storage space throughout youth clubs all over the country. Obviously this will create large administrative problems but is by no means impossible. Perhaps then we can get away from the patronising, single-sex male oriented club which is so common today.

And perhaps the problems of the young people in the café highlight what is so depressing about large numbers of adolescents today. When any burst of rebellion has been turned into delinquency — the only method of protest they know — then the acceptance of their lot is fixed. What at one time might have been the urgent enthusiasm of adolescence to know and learn, is now a jealous hatred of those who have the opportunity and freedom to extend their lives. If we can present new facts, if we can help them regain their readiness to learn, and enable them to find an essential self-respect, then there is hope that they will view themselves and society in a more favourable and tolerant manner.

BB

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The project is now at the end of its second chapter following Mr Biven's resignation after nearly two years as manager. When the café first opened in 1963 no one could predict how it would be received, nor what conditions the manager would encounter. The first year was in fact a very anxious one. The first manager, who was relatively inexperienced, was tested to the limit of his endurance by the young people who used the café in their efforts to find out what it could offer. He on his side had to establish an entirely new model, no one could show him what to do and there were no patterns to follow. His resignation seemed at the time to indicate failure, but in fact it was not. Not only were some very valuable lessons learned by the committee, but the café users also learned something important, namely that there are certain limits beyond which they could not go without damage to themselves, and in retrospect even the six months' closure which followed his resignation may have driven home this lesson. At all events, although Mr Biven had to face similar testing-out behaviour when he took over, it never reached the same intensity as under the original leadership.

The café is now a 'success' in that it attracts precisely those for whom it was intended and offers the warm friendly atmosphere that was envisaged. On the whole relationships with the local community are good and in spite of some misunderstandings with the police, there have been no major problems. The climate of opinion towards so unorthodox a venture has altered very considerably, indeed there is even a danger that it may become 'respectable'. The Inner London Education Authority has supported the project sympathetically and deputations from many parts of the world have visited the café to see how it is being run.

Now that Mr Biven has left the café an assessment of the progress should therefore be attempted. This is not so easy and no service would be done to the project if the glamour of 'success' were accepted at its face value. What in fact has been demonstrated and what remains to be achieved?

Firstly, what has *not* been achieved. Although the project deals with juvenile delinquents and is thought by many to be aimed at reducing delinquency, this aim is nowhere stated in its 'Aims and Objects', and in fact is not one of its primary goals, although it may be a secondary one. It cannot be claimed that since the opening of the café there has been any reduction in delinquency among the regular café users as opposed to the non-users. Indeed a number of the boys who were most regular in their use of the café are now in penal institutions.

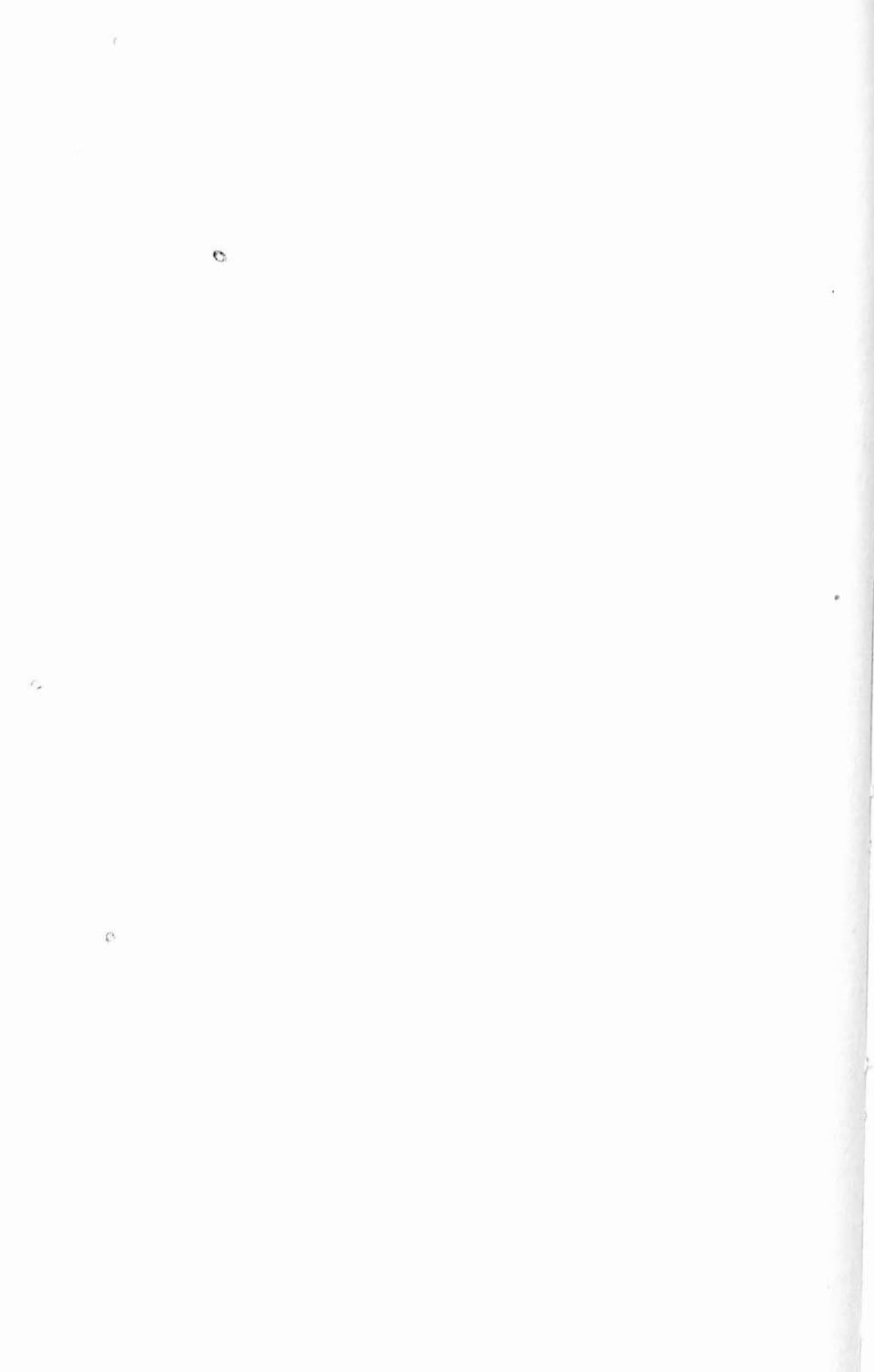
What seems to have been proved is that the young people who use the café, many of whom are suffering from deepseated personality disturbances, do indeed crave for mature relationships with adults and that given the right setting and the right person they can make such relationships and use them in a productive way. Although no secret is made of the manager's professional role, this in no way deters the clients from using the café and identifying themselves with it. Indeed it seems likely that their knowledge that the café exists for their own benefit and is not a commercial concern is one of the features that most attracts them. Within the café setting they are able, with the support of the manager, to show a great deal of tolerance and self-control in spite of provocation. With the guidance of the manager, many have found an outlet in socially acceptable and rewarding pursuits outside the narrow confines of their previous life.

It cannot at this stage be shown whether the café has had any marked effect on their behaviour and attitudes outside the café. This in any case would be almost impossible to assess since these are imponderables and it would be a very difficult task indeed to select adequate criteria for the assessment of change. All of the clients are going through a period of adolescent rebellion during which they are searching for their own identity. The most obvious feature of adolescence is change and one can

predict that in ten years' time they will be very different individuals from what they are now, whether they come to the café or not. Most will have 'settled down'. At present the lives of many Shuttletonians are narrow, rigid and restricted; the café may have introduced some warmth and colour into the lives of a few at a time when they most need it. The kind of change that may result from this is an internal rather than an external one and perhaps it cannot be measured in terms of either the present or the immediate future. The committee's hope is that as a result of the young people's experience in the café the adult attitudes they eventually assume will be less narrow and restricted than those of their parents and that they will be able to allow themselves to take some responsibility for the conduct of their own lives and for the life of their community. This lack of a feeling of responsibility for their own lives is the most depressing feature of Shuttleton. The only way this vicious circle can be broken is through an internal change. Externally imposed changes, that is changes imposed by 'them', however well meaning, are by themselves ineffectual.

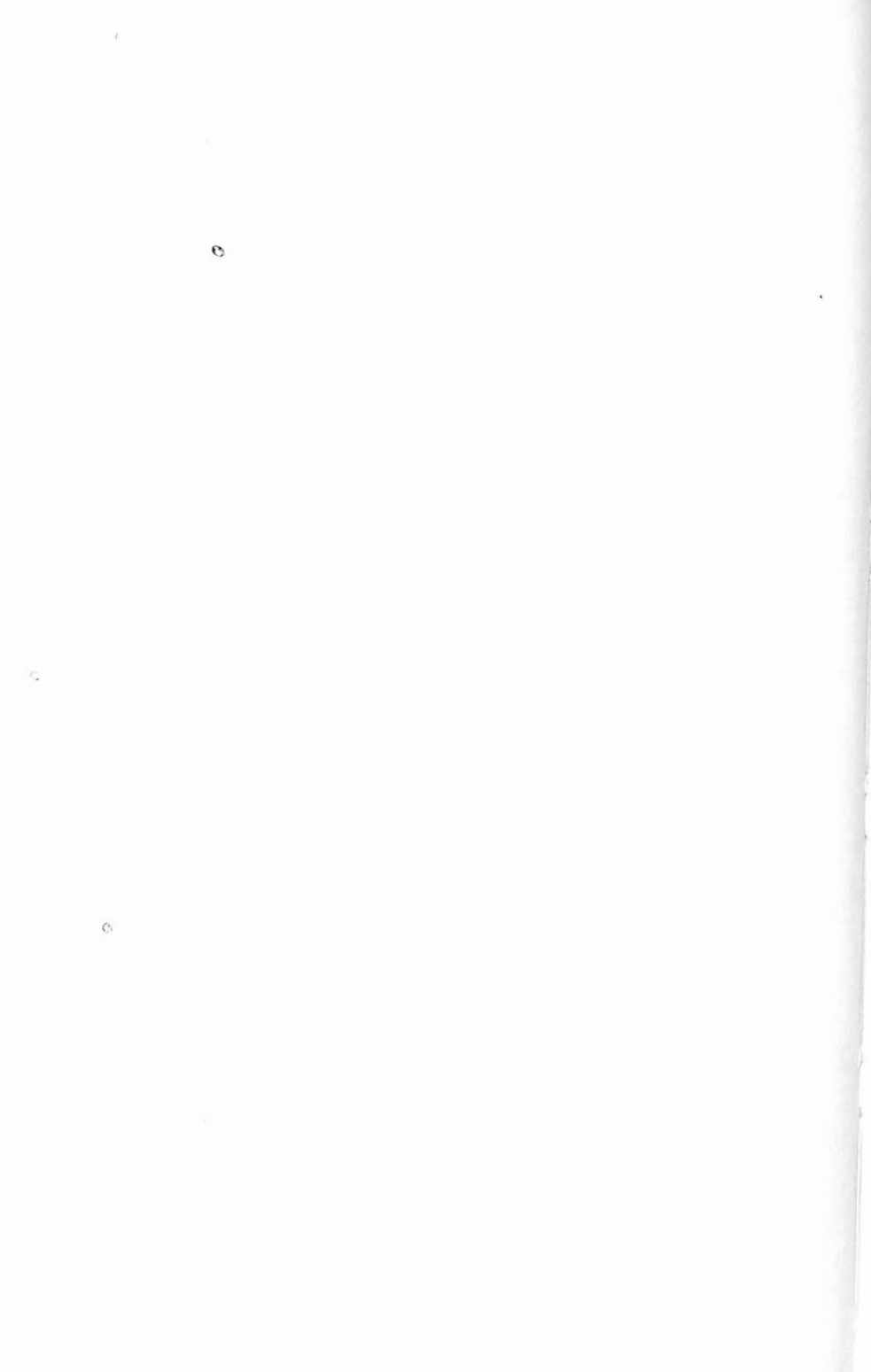
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PART FOUR

Special aspects and specific issues



The school, the teacher and the young delinquent

J. B. Mays

The following contribution explores the ways in which schools and teachers might be deployed and enabled to help young delinquents. The concept of the community school which, since the publication of the Plowden Report (1967), has become almost the conventional wisdom, is discussed and exemplified.

A sociological analysis of the juvenile subculture in urban industrialised conditions necessitates an understanding of the peculiar ways in which children relate to the existing social institutions in their environment. The principal sources of influence are home life and family relationships, and relationships with age-mates or peers in the immediate neighbourhood at what we may term street level and in the school. As subsidiary, but by no means negligible sources of influence there are the churches, together with their missions and allied Sunday schools and the various youth organisations, both statutory and voluntary, uniformed and non-uniformed. The standards and values of the wider community are passed through the filters of family and school before they exert their influence on the rising generation. The groups of friends in the neighbourhood, who live in and around the same streets or blocks of flats, who patronise the parochial institutions and mingle in queues at streetcorner chip shops, who are seen at the local dance halls and coffee bars and cellar clubs, set the mode at the less conventional level of relaxation and leisuretime entertainment. The work of the churches, schools and youth organisations tend to be on a par, seeking to improve standards of behaviour, to promote literacy and to lift the level of the subculture into line with the norms of the more successful middle classes. They sometimes find themselves working to some degree in opposition to the pressures of the local subculture. Some families may stand out

against their ministrations, or be indifferent to all they are striving to achieve. Peer group concerns and the values of streetcorner culture may neutralise their efforts more or less completely. So, too, may some of the purely commercial concerns which flourish in the area: the ubiquitous betting shops which have sprung up in recent years, the pubs and cafés, theatres and cinemas, drinking clubs and shebeens, which also, in their own way, transmit some of the cultural values tolerated in society as a whole.

It will be clear from this very brief survey that youngsters in modern cities are subject to a veritable crossfire of conflicting interests, values and pressures. Cultural influences to which they are almost constantly exposed, emanating from the sources we have outlined, must produce tensions and strains which many find hard to resist. The American criminologists, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, have shown how children who derive from family backgrounds where parents are neglectful, where discipline is inconsistent and affection unreliable, are especially susceptible to delinquent suggestions coming from the local subculture. The Gluecks, the McCords and Dr Andry in this country have further highlighted the fact that failure on the part of fathers to perform an adequate paternal role, involving both love and authority, is another powerful causal factor associated with child delinquency. From these, and from a host of other studies made on both sides of the Atlantic, it is abundantly clear that the quality of family life and of personal relationships in the home are the crucial determinants of children's social adjustment and of their outlook on life. Even in highly delinquent neighbourhoods it is clear that children who come from stable home backgrounds seldom break the law. It is also clear that in these deteriorated lower class neighbourhoods there are many inadequate families in which parental slackness, low intelligence, sheer negligence or endemic apathy produce offspring who are especially prone to delinquency. With little support from parents, children are thrown on to the resources of the peer group for the solidarity and security, the approval and affection they basically need in the vital growing up process. If the street level groups condone or, as they occasionally do, actively encourage illegal acts, then we can see how many children growing up in these neighbourhoods drift into crime as part of their adjustment to the pattern of life prevailing in their milieu. They do not set out to become young law-breakers; social pressures and the defects of the environment thrust them into delinquency.

In the light of this analysis what can be done to prevent delinquent attitudes developing in neighbourhoods where the children are for a variety of reasons at serious risk? How can the statutory and voluntary social services either singly or in combination be deployed more effectively

in antidelinquency campaigns? Or, to put the matter more positively, what can they do to foster more adequate group and family life in localities where many adverse social factors are seen to be producing adjustment problems among children out of all proportion to those found in most other parts of the city?

At the general neighbourhood level, personal inadequacies apart, it is clear that there is both social disorganisation and also a degree of social organisation of the wrong kind to deal with. As Harriet Wilson (1962) and other investigators have shown in recent years, some families are seriously isolated and lack sufficient financial and inner resources to get along successfully on their own. In the past it is often thought, whether rightly or not we need not concern ourselves here, that families received considerable support in times of difficulty from neighbours and relatives living close by in a community of comparative stability and solidarity. Nowadays, because of the increasing rate of both social and geographical mobility, the kinship group tends to become dispersed, local loyalties decay and neighbourly concern is minimal. It is the function of the social welfare agencies to provide the necessary organisation so that isolated and ineffectual families can be linked to the local community and so helped to overcome their difficulties and adapt to the pattern of life and standards of living which modern urban conditions require.

There is also the problem of the wrong sort of organisation, of cohesive forces which tend to pull against the norms of the wider society. This is seen most clearly in the so-called delinquent neighbourhoods we have already briefly referred to, where law-breaking traditions are fostered and streetcorner society and gang life combine to encourage a limited degree of criminality or, at least, an easygoing tolerance for certain sorts of offences such as petty larceny and violence against the person or property.

In order to mitigate the disadvantages of modern living conditions in the congested and often coldly impersonal urban milieu we need to find some new focus for community development. There is no institution today which so nearly fits this role as the school. The city primary school, and sometimes the secondary school also, has a close and continuing association with the greatest numbers of households in any locality. Hence it is the most appropriate familiar institution to provide the necessary focal point for all kinds of communal activities and endeavours. No doubt in the past the parish church most suitably fulfilled this function. Indeed, where church and school represented twin sides of a single united fellowship something like the ideal solution must have existed. But the churches have lost considerable ground in the twentieth century and, while they have a by no means negligible contribution to make to social solidarity, it is becoming more and more clear that their future task is to participate in a

wider based community effort in which secular and lay organisations play an equal administrative part.

The community school will have close links with the families of the surrounding locality at many levels. It will seek to operate as the co-ordinating centre of the area for a whole variety of agencies and organisations whose purpose is in any way associated with social welfare and education in the widest possible sense of that word. The youth groups of various sorts will meet in its halls and workshops. Parents' associations and adult study groups will be centred on its premises. The St John's Ambulance class or the Red Cross Society branch, the local orchestra, drama group or choir, weightlifters, judo experts, pigeon-fanciers, pig clubs, harriers and similar organisations will turn towards it for occasional or regular accommodation. If the school buildings are new and commodious, and if, moreover, a special youth wing has been added, it will be the local community centre by day and by night, with organisations and interests bridging the generations and closely linking formal and informal educational processes. It would seem to be a sensible policy in areas where no other arrangements have already been made for some of the social services to be closely associated with the school on either a long term or an *ad hoc* basis. If there is a marriage guidance society meeting to be held, the school would seem to be its natural venue. If the probation officer requires a room to interview his clients it might well, in some cases, be provided in the school. Subsidiary offices for school welfare and attendance departments, Citizens' Advice Bureaux and vocational guidance services, to name a few of the more obvious agencies, might find the school the most convenient base for their operations. The school, then, will be the local clubhouse, culture centre and advice bureau to which all naturally turn for guidance, fellowship and enjoyment.

To say this, of course, is to imagine an ideal situation. I realise that such a concentration of educational and welfare services would seldom in fact be achieved unless actually planned for in new residential districts. But even where conditions are not favourable and where other kindred organisations are unable to be associated with the local school building or where, as must often be the case, the school building is itself inadequate to serve as a physical focus for the surrounding community, it seems to me imperative that the school should still be regarded as the *social centre of its neighbourhood*. The downtown school in the poorer locality, above all, needs to accept this as a necessary part of its total educational function in the modern city.

There are no doubt a number of teachers and administrators who would not go along with such a policy as envisaged above. They would consider, perhaps, that this involves an extension of education into so many differ-

ent areas of life as to be generally undesirable and possibly detrimental to the task of formal teaching. It implies a drastic rethinking of the teacher's role in the community and a degree of intimacy with social workers that might be repugnant to some people's minds. Whatever else it implies, it undoubtedly would put an end to the nine-to-four mentality; and it would encourage an acceptance of the idea that the school has a responsibility extending far beyond its walls and a duty to reach out creatively and helpfully into the life of the local community as a whole.

The philosophy underlying the concept of the community school requires a recognition of the idea that remedial and educative functions are not distinct but closely related aspects of the same communal endeavour; that what happens in the classroom is closely associated with, and powerfully conditioned by, what happens in the homes and streets of the envioning locality; that education is not merely the transmission of skills and the imparting of knowledge but the cultivation of a way of life whose end product is not diplomas but particular kinds of persons. Viewed in this light, the role of the teacher assumes a new social importance which might well catch the imagination of many more recruits than it does at the moment. A greater sense of urgency about the task could mean an increase in vocation without necessarily implying any loss of professional efficiency.

Of course there are obvious dangers in the idea of teachers as social missionaries, although the logic of the Newsom Report (1963) leads to this precise conclusion for many kinds of neighbourhoods. The chief danger is a resurgence of paternalism and the development of what somebody once called the 'schoolmarm state'. It would be socially disastrous if a somewhat narrow and unrealistic kindergarten atmosphere were to be extended to embrace the teenagers and adults of inner city neighbourhoods. Such an attempt would not only be ridiculous it would fortunately be almost certainly doomed to failure. We do not want to see the teachers 'interfering' in the affairs of local residents, going around putting people of all ages in their places like a kind of monitorial élite sent in by an external authority, however benevolent. What we do want is a school which gets on with its proper job with the youngsters, which also extends its hospitality to the entire neighbourhood and which seeks sensitively and imaginatively to stimulate cultural and social activities around its central core. Most of these cultural activities, and all the purely welfare ones, will be outside the control of the teachers. The school will, for part of the time, act as the good host and the honest broker to all men and agencies of goodwill in the area.

The development of indigenous leadership and a fair degree of local autonomy is absolutely necessary for adolescent and adult leisuretime

organisations wherever they are based. Teachers will not seek to control but to function as facilitators to spontaneous community endeavour. The fundamental understanding is that the school belongs to its neighbourhood and the teachers and the local education authority officials are there primarily to serve and educate their masters. In the poorer and more delinquency producing areas, no doubt the pedagogic role will involve tactful guidance and positive support for the less able and more disturbed households. What will matter, above everything, is the manner in which the teacher's extended role is understood and interpreted. It was no less a person that Emile Durkheim (1958) who described the lay teacher as 'the agent of a great moral person who surpasses him', and who consistently emphasised 'moral authority' as 'the dominant quality of the educator'. It is impossible to divorce authority from leadership or leadership from the exercise of moral influence and ethical guidance. The great tradition of English education is quite firm on this point: the good teacher is concerned with every aspect of the pupil's life and development. He cannot (without betraying his historical position) escape from this into a narrow concern for the transmission of specialised knowledge or the cultivation of mere technical competence. The sensible thing, then, is surely to accept and adapt the school's mission and reinterpret the teacher's role in the light of modern needs and vastly changed social conditions.

This seems to be an appropriate point to discuss more specific ways in which schools can help pupils and parents with the kinds of problems that many are called on to face in difficult neighbourhoods. In the first place it is necessary for teachers to become sensitised to the presenting symptoms of unhappiness and maladaptation. This ideally should be done during the training period but, since this so seldom happens, special short-term refresher courses should be arranged, perhaps through local institutions of education, for practising teachers. Instruction should be undertaken by social scientists with special experience of young children, and of delinquents in particular.

The main object of the course would be to help classroom teachers to realise that what seems to be indiscipline or impudence on the part of a pupil may, in fact, be an indirect appeal for help. The association between truancy and other behaviour disorders is fairly widely appreciated; what is not nearly so well understood is that the child who is always in trouble and who clearly is not responding to the routine sanctions of the classroom, needs, not more severe punishment, but a careful and sympathetic appraisal of his social life and family relationships. Picking out the delinquency-prone child may not be a simple task and might well be left to the experts, but being aware, in the first place, of behaviour which might conceivably be symptomatic of serious psychosocial disorders is surely

within the competence of any trained teacher. Having noted what appear to be signs of maladjustment, the teacher should then be able to get in contact with a more experienced social worker who will take up the case to see whether or not there is anything amiss with the pupil's home background. Such an exercise must, of course, be carried through with great tact, confidentiality and genuine loving concern. Routinisation could so easily threaten the therapeutic element in the approach to the family or in talking to the individual child.

It is important for teachers to appreciate that withdrawal, lethargy, excessive quiescence or any signs of physical neglect are also significant indices of disorder, sometimes much more serious than those manifested in hooliganism, overt aggressiveness, disobedience and persistent rule breaking.

At the preventive level, then, the role of the teacher is precautionary, and not specifically diagnostic. It may be that, in especially difficult localities, there will be on the staff a teacher with social work training of the kind now being developed, in response to the Newsom Committee's recommendations, at one or two colleges of education, in which case the second stage in the operation is for class teachers to refer such cases to their more specialised colleague. The latter will then visit the home, check every aspect of the child's background and, where appropriate, call in the help of specialised social work agencies or take such other steps as may seem desirable to provide the necessary assistance or support. Another way of achieving the same result is for full-time social workers to be attached to a school or to a group of schools in problem areas to work with the teaching staff and care committees if they exist. The method and organisation chosen is much less important than the general attitude of mind evidenced by the school and its staff towards the neighbourhood and its problems. The school has to show that it cares: a related aspect of its function is to bring in the best possible help and advice. The enemy within the gate is indifference or a too narrow conception of the teacher's role.

For a school to operate in the way I have suggested it will have to build up sound working relationships with the families and with other social workers in the district over a fair period of time. This is why the idea of the community school is so important. It will inevitably become the place to which all look for help at many different levels. Close liaison with parents means making it possible and easy for parents and teachers to meet one another so that mutual confidence can be developed. Parents should feel it as natural and acceptable for them to visit the school as teachers or other school representatives should feel it to visit local folk in their homes. Something much more intimate than the formal parent-teacher association is called for, and there will perforce have to be much experimentation

before it is clear what form this will take in any particular neighbourhood. The imposition of official blueprints would achieve very little and could, in fact, result in little more than frustration.

In this country one or two pioneer experiments have shown that home visiting by social workers can have outstanding results at very little extra cost in time or manpower. The police juvenile liaison officer scheme* for the prevention and treatment of early delinquents is one notable example of this. The work of the Dolphin Club in the south Liverpool dockland also showed what can be achieved by eliciting parental support in organising recreational programmes for difficult youngsters.† In America there are many more instances of imaginative operational developments, one of which, the all-day neighbourhood schools in New York, being of particular relevance to the theme of this paper. Very briefly, these schools are given extra staff so that small groups can be dealt with and they operate from 9 am to 5 pm, dividing the day into periods of instruction and recreation. Close relationships with the local community are maintained and committees formed consisting of representatives of the parents' association and of other interested individuals. Among many functions, the committees bring voluntary workers into the schools, undertake publicity and raise additional funds for special enterprises. The general result of all this can clearly be observed in the children who, when they see their own parents and other citizens coming into school to help them with their work and their play, gain fresh pride and self respect. Their general conduct improves, truancy diminishes, and many aggressive or withdrawn youngsters show a definite improvement in their behaviour.

It will be clear from the foregoing that what I am recommending involves a radical revolution of the existing system, especially for schools operating in lower-class areas. But, remedial teaching, smaller classes, closer links with families and other welfare agencies in the district will not by themselves achieve all we may properly hope for from a revitalised educational service. The key, as always, lies in the quality of the teaching staff. If sufficient men and women, animated by a sense of vocation and service, can be found to work in the difficult schools, the kind of programme I envisage may be realised. It is, in the first place, the task of the lecturers in colleges of education to present young teachers with the right kind of challenge, and of the administrators of the state system to give them thereafter strong and sympathetic support as they set about their by no means easy job. I believe that a great many such teachers already exist, but that all too often they are frustrated by the routines of the system and

* See pp. 283-301 for fuller details of this scheme in operation.

† See pp. 204-13.

discouraged by the rigid outlook of the authorities from giving their best to the children and families in the localities where they are needed most.

A more socially alive and concerned attitude towards the surrounding locality should be accompanied by a similar child-centred attitude inside the classroom and within the school as a whole. There are signs that a more friendly relationship between teachers and pupils is developing in many places, but there are also some schools where discipline is harsh and where teachers think of their job as a battle against rebellious louts. A return to judicially sanctioned whipping and greater use of the cane in schools are both constantly put forward as measures for containing juvenile vandalism and violence. Such policies are advocated in spite of the absence of evidence to support them. I know of no more convincing proof of the value of humane sanctions and of a greater reliance upon good personal relationships as the source and foundation of sound discipline than a small inquiry carried out under the guidance of Sir Alec Clegg (1962). Thirty individual schools were selected, half of which were judged to be generally 'good' in terms of behaviour and damage to property, and half 'bad'. Inquiries were then set on foot to discover how the various schools used the cane under three grades of 'light', 'medium' and 'heavy', while at the same time the proportion of pupils appearing before the juvenile court from each school was calculated over a three-year period. The findings showed that there was no support for the idea that schools which caned most rigorously produced the best behaviour or the fewest delinquents. Nor, interestingly enough, did the results support the view that the best behaved schools necessarily drew their pupils from the socially more favoured districts. The main conclusion of the inquiry was that behaviour is best and delinquency least in those schools where corporal punishment is used sparingly *irrespective of the type of locality*. But perhaps the most significant finding of all related to one 'blackboard jungle' school in a tough area which had an extremely bad record for misbehaviour and delinquency over a fairly long period until a new headmaster was appointed who drastically curtailed the use of hitherto frequent corporal punishment and, on the positive side, promoted new school clubs, extracurricular activities, and even lunchtime dances (it was a mixed school) so that personal relationships rather than regulations and ineffective beating formed the basis of the school's discipline. The school which five years previously had been one of those producing the largest number of delinquents in the whole county was, shortly after the operation of the new system, producing the fewest.*

I find this kind of evidence reassuring, both about the nature of young

* See pp. 241-6 for details of the West Riding experience.

people today and about the potentialities of a 'good' school to civilise a whole community. The clue to success seems to be the ability of teachers to understand the value of reliable and warm human relationships and a willingness, where necessary, to go the extra mile with children or with their families. It can best be summed up in such a phrase as 'compassionate awareness'. This is something that concerns everyone in the community, not just the teachers. If the school is the focal point of every kind of educative and creative activity in its locality it will welcome to its doors people of goodwill from every part of the district. In the associated nurseries and youth groups there will be a rich field for those who feel committed to give some of their time and energy to helping their neighbours or their neighbours' children. There will be a place in the community school for both amateur and professional, and the churches would do well to direct their laity to look to it as a natural outlet for the discharge of their pastoral responsibilities to the society for which the Christian Church, most profoundly, itself exists.

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Changing a school

A. B. Clegg and B. Megson

The authors demonstrate how schools can help to reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency in their own immediate area if they consciously endeavour to do so. They draw on specific experience which indicates that much depends on the attitude of the head teacher and close attention being paid to the whole question of how a school's morale can be boosted.

We have made it clear [in previous chapters of the book from which this is an extract] that certain schools serving social areas which might be expected to produce difficult and even delinquent children manage somehow to prevent this happening, or at least greatly to reduce its incidence by comparison with other schools serving similar areas. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine what happened when a school which was failing in its task of prevention turned into one which succeeded.

How can a school make a bad child good? Why is it that many children who behave so badly outside school that they get into the hands of the police behave with commendable normality within school? What do we mean by character training? What do we mean when we say 'it all depends on the character of the head'? Why do some schools which draw on bad social areas manage to steer clear of juvenile crime? Is there any truth in the assertion that a good school can raise the social standard of the whole area in which it is situated, and, if so, how does this happen?

The answers to these questions are, of course, all concerned with the somewhat indefinite and even mysterious qualities of tone and morale, the sort of thing that the speaker on speech day talks about so volubly as he gives away the prizes to the few gifted children who cannot help winning them and passes over the many whose efforts might so greatly benefit from a little recognition.

There are two kinds of school which we can ignore when probing these problems. One is the school directed by an imposing head with an imposing voice, a rigorous set of school rules designed to keep children away from temptation and a cane with which to enforce their observance. Schools such as these often command great respect from parents of the kind who still believe that children should be seen but not heard. These are spare-the-rod-and-spoil-the-child schools. The bad children in them have sown the wind and must reap the whirlwind. They must be given stripe for stripe, for in these Old Testament schools it is believed that the moral Ethiopian cannot change his skin. The processes of these schools are not truly educational processes. They try to make it impossible for the child to make a wrong choice rather than educate him to make a right one. They fail to distinguish between making a child do what is right and making him want to do what is right. Children in them perform duties rather than discharge responsibilities.

The second kind of school which need not be considered is the school which draws on a social background which produces fewer problems, either because the children come from stable homes or because they are boarded away from their unstable homes or because their abilities are such that they easily become absorbed in academic work and this does much to compensate for the worries generated in the home. It would, of course, be very wrong to assume that there are any schools devoid of child distress, but some have considerably less than others and these are, therefore, not our main concern.

The school which faces the real problems is the one which draws on less able pupils living in conditions which produce social problems. It may be worth while to look at one individual school and consider the problems which it had to face and how it tackled them.

Those who knew this school would undoubtedly say that it was transformed by the character of its head, though this sometimes implies that all that a head has to do is to sit in his room and emit 'character'. But the very few people who were privileged to observe the transformation, and in particular the education officer for whom it had caused sleepless nights, were able to see something of how morale in a school is built up. The new headmaster inherited serious problems. He had over 500 boys and girls of secondary schoolage drawn from an unpromising social background and the staff at his disposal numbered twenty-three. None of the staff lived in the small township which the school served. None of them took meals with the children. A group of them were more concerned with playing bridge before morning school as well as during the midday break than attending to the school's needs. The fallpipes and flat roofs of the school were covered with barbed wire to prevent children climbing up them. A

small group of staff left daily within two minutes of the end of the afternoon school. Boys smoked on their way to school and on the school premises. Girls smoked in the toilets. The local newsagent had been in the habit of employing boys on paper-rounds and their arrival at school fifty minutes late had been condoned. There were two sittings for school dinners, some children attended both and others stayed though they had not been registered. Some twenty to thirty children were found to be taking milk home. Though the caretaker was good, the school was ill-used by its pupils. Milk bottles were pushed into the lavatory bowls and pencils pushed into the cisterns.

Many of the children themselves were ill-cared for and unkempt. A medical inspection had disclosed that forty-three girls and four boys had verminous heads. On the second morning of his regime the new headmaster discovered that fifty-three pupils were late and over a score arrived on the premises smoking. The school football pitches were used for evening and weekend football by all and sundry. The school greenhouse was a target for stone-throwing. There were many and frequent outbursts of stealing in the school. Thefts from teachers' desks and purses and thefts of school equipment were frequent, and during the first term of the new regime sixteen boys and one girl appeared before the local juvenile court charged with various offences. The girl was summoned by her own father.

There were also problems of sex. One girl whose father had been given a prison sentence for incest talked freely of her experiences. In the first term one girl was noticed working inadequately in the gymnasium; the school's apprehension was passed on to the parents who threatened the head and staff with an action for defamation, but a medical examination revealed that the girl was six months pregnant.

There were, of course, many cases of distressing home conditions. One child whose mother was in a mental hospital was often threatened by the father and arrived at school in a pitiable condition. She died shortly after leaving school. Another girl, whose mother died of cancer, was so grievously dealt with by the father that she attempted suicide. A boy collapsed in the headmaster's arms and died before a doctor could be called.

From this list it will be seen that the headmaster had a good deal of clearing up to do before he could begin to build up the morale of his community, and the clearing up involved systematic hard work and meticulous application to every detail that was wrong in the school. Decisions had to be reached at once on the sanctions, penalties and rewards to be used in the school. The old regime had made very considerable use of the cane which was in consequence treated with some contempt and was ineffective. The head decided that he would limit its use as much as possible but use it with rigour when it had to be used. In the first

few months of his regime, therefore, he did not hesitate to use it to deal with smoking on school premises and with the worst kind of insolence particularly when applied to women teachers. It is important to note, however, that within a year or two he was able virtually to abandon its use.

In the early years also there was a considerable amount of exhortation and explaining why this, that, or the other demand was being made. School rules were reduced to a minimum and the main ones were: 'Walk', 'Keep to the right' and 'Move quietly'. But the focal points of discipline had to be dealt with and were dealt with one by one. The most intractable of them received the personal attention of the headmaster. On the second day of the school year the head and the senior master met the boys as they came into the school — the head dealt with the smokers and his deputy with those who were late. The head also personally policed the grounds at weekends and often in the evenings to deal with those who were using them as a short cut and as a public playground. When girls were found smoking the parents were sent for at once, and such obvious matters as the paper-rounds, the dinner and milk defalcations which were susceptible to immediate correction were dealt with summarily. Teaching staff, caretakers and specially appointed monitors managed after half a term's diligent effort to get rid of the abuses in the toilets. The personal uncleanliness was dealt with by the head and a senior mistress personally seeing every offender. The forty-seven children with dirty heads were given a week to clean themselves; they were reduced to twenty-five after one week, and after the third week eleven girls who still were not clean were excluded from school for several days. Similar rigorous efforts were made to deal with the problem of lateness. Again monitors were appointed, and in a relatively short time the lateness which used to amount to 10 per cent was reduced to about 1 per cent of the school roll.

The attitudes of the staff and their general slackness presented a serious problem. Six members of the staff left at the end of each afternoon at 4.02; they were out of the building before the children. The head decided, therefore, to call a school assembly at 3.55 pm and, as he put it, 'we prayed for a quarter of an hour'. He did this on the first five days of one week and the showdown came with some plain speaking on Thursday, the fourth day. The early-morning bridge playing was stopped at once by the head, as was also a blatant and embarrassing friendship between two members of the staff each married to somebody else.

Stealing by pupils proved to be one of the most intractable problems and much time was spent investigating petty thefts and in the first term the parents of eleven children were sent for. The second year was even worse than the first but thereafter steady and relentless pressure on this problem eventually removed it almost completely.

But these vigorous and determined methods by the new head merely removed the symptoms, they did little to remedy the causes of the disease or to inject new life into the body of the community. This required different treatment, the attitudes of both staff and pupils needed to be changed. From the staff was needed a different quality of concern for the pupils, and from both staff and pupils a pride in their school.

At the end of the first year of the new regime nine members of staff had taken houses in the township and eighteen of the twenty-three members took their meals with the pupils.

The head in his first term laid great stress on the Christmas celebrations which brought staff and pupils together in a way which had not happened for many years. Each class was encouraged to bring flowers for their room, and competitions for the best kept room were judged by the caretaker and the kitchen staff, who were thus brought more closely into the affairs of the school.

The ties between parents and the school were strengthened. Early in the school year parents were invited to the school to discuss matters of attendance, school uniform, and the general aims of the school. Special interviews with parents were arranged whenever the occasion presented itself. When illness occurred in the home and a pupil had to share the burden of this legitimate upset she was allowed to arrive half an hour late at school or leave half an hour early. Sick children were taken home by the staff, and those who were seriously ill were visited in their homes. Those in hospital were all sent a small gift such as a basket of fruit. Parents were also involved as much as possible in open days and in money-making endeavours.

Conscious efforts were made to forge connections with outside bodies. The aim of collaboration with the police was to lighten their burden as well as that of the school. Close connections were formed with the church authorities, with local industry, local social services and the road safety organisation. School visits and journeys were organised; 200 children were taken to London and this became an annual event. The beginnings of a social connection with the outside community were made by pupils remembering the old and infirm at harvest and Christmas time. Special efforts were made to get in touch with those parents least likely to come to school on their own initiative. Visitors to the school were used consciously by the head and staff as a means of providing social training for the pupils. Much was done by the positive organisation of social activities within the school to discourage the wrong type of friendship between boys and girls and to replace it with the kind of relationships which could command general approval and mutual respect.

It will be realised that the kind of activities which have been listed are

not in any way novel; in fact they are not only typical of, but normal in, any good school and in many that are somewhat less good. But the significant thing is that during the few years in which these activities were being introduced into a new school the delinquency rate was reduced markedly and a school which was certainly the most notorious in the county became one of the most respected; and the change was certainly significant enough to be noticed with considerable satisfaction by the police.

It is difficult not to believe that the new regime was directly responsible for the decline in antisocial behaviour and that the systematic point by point attack on his problems made by the headmaster was the main operative force, though, as he would be the first to admit, he was very greatly helped in all that he did by the effect of a new school building.

It is fairly easy to understand how a good school can put right much of the damage done by a bad home. It is, however, much more difficult to say how a good school can influence for the better the home itself. Yet there is no doubt that schools can influence individual homes, and there are experienced teachers who maintain that if the school sets high standards, particularly to the girls, something of these standards is conveyed to the homes. Standards of design, of cleanliness, of nutrition and methods of budgeting can all be influenced by good school practice, and the more the school and its staff is respected the greater obviously will be their influence. It is undoubtedly possible to see positive evidence in the homes of pupils of high school standards of this kind. Moreover, most parents want their children to be liked and admired, and any aspect of the child's work or behaviour which receives commendation in the school is likely to be encouraged in the home and parents' interest in their child can be quickened by any success which draws to him the praise of the school.

These reactions are, however, typical only of the better homes and the average run of concerned parents. They apply much less generally to the child from the distressed home. Such children obviously benefit from any general rise in the level of school morale, but it is much more difficult for the school to make a direct impact unless a very positive attempt is made to do so. The occasions when this can happen occur when the school finds that the child is so upset that it will continue to deteriorate unless something can be changed in the home. In the vast majority of cases, however, all that the school can hope to do is to offer conditions on the school premises which will compensate for the misery of the home.

But the main lesson to be learnt from this account is that morale and tone is built up in a school by attention to a multiplicity of detail, nothing should be neglected, everything can contribute, and perpetual and close vigilance followed by determined action is the recipe which works, provided that the attitude to the children is one of deep concern.

School social work and crime prevention

Pauline Avery and Robert F. Adamson

This is an account of the work and role of school social workers and of the way teachers can be helped to become more sensitive towards pupils' problems. The experience on which this report is based was gained at two comprehensive schools in association with the Central Lancashire Family and Community Project.

Schools seek to help children with problems in different ways. Head and assistant teachers sometimes undertake home visits and discuss cases with statutory and voluntary agencies. They prepare reports for courts and child guidance clinics. Education welfare officers, as their change in title indicates, have gradually come to work with many problems affecting the attendance and performance of the child. Educational psychologists and psychiatric social workers from child guidance clinics may visit home and school to reach an assessment of a problem. The school nurse may also be the health visitor who has known the family for a period of years.

This summary indicates that, in general, the welfare aspects of education are covered by members of the teaching staff who lack specific social work training and experience; or by workers based outside the school, unfamiliar to some degree with the climate and functioning of the school concerned.

In this paper we discuss the appointment of social workers as school staff members, with particular reference to appointments made in the central Lancashire area.

A social worker appointed to schools offers a casework service to individual children and to families. He needs a room of his own, readily accessible to children, and a telephone within easy reach. Unfortunately,

small rooms are not generally available in schools and telephones are usually situated where conversations can easily be overheard.

Referrals come from different sources — headmaster, teachers, parents, education welfare officers, and local clergy. Children come of their own accord for help and the social worker himself may observe boys and girls in difficulties. Contact with primary feeder schools and routine interviewing of first-year children may alert the secondary school social worker to incipient delinquency or maladjustment. A child who is already the responsibility of another agency (such as the children's department or probation) will have his own caseworker; but a social worker in school can sometimes supplement this service.

Children often come to the notice of the school social worker because they are anxious about lessons or about relationships with teachers, the peer group or members of their families; or because they exhibit the symptoms of such anxieties — headaches, sickness and dizziness, lack of concentration, poor attendance and truancy. Amongst other reasons for referral are disruptive and withdrawn behaviour in school, pilfering, poor material conditions and also the sort of problems normally associated with adolescence.

Wherever possible, the child concerned is first interviewed in school so that his initial perception of the social worker is of a concerned and non-threatening person. Home visits, discussions with teachers, referrals to other agencies can then be seen as part of a helping process, undertaken with his knowledge and cooperation. Giving prior notice of a first home visit may help towards acceptance by parents.

Another service which the school social worker can offer is groupwork with deprived or delinquent children. Where the group works with some activity (rather than discussion as its obvious task), the proportion of more normal children who will want to come hiking or make toys or play table football should help to prevent the group from becoming too easily identifiable.

Sometimes a child leaves school with a problem unsolved. The school social worker can offer an aftercare service in such cases.

The role of any social worker is broadly defined by the setting in which he works, and by the structure of his local agency. This is especially true where the social worker is seeking to become established in an organisation that has built up its own separate expertise over a lengthy period. Schools have over generations developed their own ways of coping with the problems posed by individual children. It is asking a lot to expect all teachers to welcome as a colleague someone from another profession, who seeks to supplement what is being done for the pupils by methods that are sometimes so similar and in other respects so different from these now

used in education. How far the social worker can become established, with a clear identity as the member of staff offering a specific casework service, depends on the combined effect of a number of factors.

Some teachers are more subject than child-orientated. They feel that it is no part of a school's function to be concerned more than is absolutely necessary with the wider aspects of the children's development. It would seem unnecessary and irrelevant to them to employ a social worker within the school. Other teachers and local education authorities may feel that for a school to have a social worker immediately brands it, in the eyes of the public, as a 'problem school'. They may seek to avoid such an appointment, or alternatively, take steps to disguise the real purpose of the job, by changing the title and the role of the worker in some way.

Perhaps in most secondary schools there is a willingness to assume responsibility for the 'all-round development' of the pupils. Much help is given with individual problems. Many headmasters are justifiably proud of the interest taken in the children and their families. Headmasters have themselves tended to lead and direct the 'welfare' aspects of the school's work, liaising with families and local social workers. As schools are getting bigger, however, there is inevitably a need for greater specialisation. More and more schools are starting to appoint teachers as housemasters, school counsellors, and home liaison officers, to be responsible for improving links between home and school, and to ensure that the difficulties of individual children are not overlooked. There are some factors here that will necessarily limit and define the role of the school social worker. In the first place, his position will be affected by the extent to which class teachers feel undermined and threatened by his presence, in their own professional desire to get to know their pupils well and to give help and guidance. Moreover, the social worker attached to a school is dependent on how far his headmaster is prepared to delegate the 'welfare' elements of his own job; and how much this aspect of the school's work is being catered for by other specialist 'counselling' appointments within the school.

But the school social worker's role is not only affected by the staffing arrangements in his school and by the attitudes of the teachers. It is also influenced by the social work provision in the area, and by the way he is viewed by his colleagues in these outside agencies. Overlapping and duplication must be avoided. It is obvious that the social worker attached to a school served (for example) by a well-staffed child guidance clinic will have a different job from one working in an area without a clinic.

It is not possible to talk about the role of the school social worker in the abstract, as if this referred to a single, clearly defined concept. The social worker attached to a school is given a specific area in which to

operate. His work is also shaped by the pressure of feeling that surrounds him. On the other hand, he does not necessarily have to submit to being passively moulded by these outside influences. The exact job he is given to do, and the way it evolves, will also be affected by how he himself regards his role, the strength of his feelings about his work, and by his ability to persuade people to his point of view.

There are five of us working as school social workers in central Lancashire. We have all had very different forms of training, and our functions within our schools are not identical. Only one of us is employed solely as a social worker. Three of us have about a quarter of a teaching timetable in addition. The fifth does some teaching and is also a housemaster, with special responsibility for helping first-year children with problems of adjustment to a new school. Each version of the school social worker's role seems to have its own peculiar advantages and disadvantages.

A school social worker with no secondary duties is perhaps less likely to be initially acceptable to teacher colleagues. On the other hand, he has the possible advantage of being able to establish gradually a clearly defined role. He can get on with his primary task unhindered by other duties. His problem is that he is in danger of not being able to make contact with the wider school population outside his own caseload. There are ways round this difficulty (groupwork, club activities, etc.). But unless some such measure is adopted the worker is not well placed for spotting early signs of disturbed behaviour by his own observation. He faces the possibility of being outside the normal school routine, at the end of a referral system which could tend to isolate both himself and his clients.

The teacher/social worker hybrid, by comparison, is more likely to gain acceptance from his teacher colleagues, will appreciate their problems, and is in a position to observe and make contact with children who might never be referred to him. On the other hand, the more forms he gets to know by teaching, the less time he has for casework and home visiting. Furthermore, there may be some role conflict which is confusing for everyone. The child perhaps cannot understand why his social worker allows him to behave in a very uninhibited manner in interview, but has quite different expectations in the classroom. If the social worker teaches, there may be less need for teachers to think about the use of casework in schools. At times of staff shortage especially, there is likely to be pressure on the social worker to hide his separate identity and become just another teacher.

Education at its fullest is concerned with the total development of children – intellectual, physical, social, emotional and moral. The conveying of information is structurally organised: there are heads of departments, departmental discussions, prepared syllabuses, a system of record

books, etc. Responsibility for the physical development of children is shared by the physical education specialists and the school health service. The social, emotional and moral development of the children is promoted through many different media. All teachers, through their approach to their subjects, can make an important contribution. By their general expression of concern, both headmaster and staff can provide a helpful atmosphere. More specific provision is made through religious instruction, social education courses and through guidance and counselling facilities. The appointment of a social worker to the staff represents one further way in which the school can show concern for the less tangible aspects of the development of children, stressing particularly the possibilities of growth through relationship.

The school social worker has the opportunity to arouse and increase the sensitivity and awareness of other staff members in their approach towards children in difficulties. Teachers often know the obvious problems only in an intellectual way. There is the child getting free meals or a uniform grant, the child on whose behalf school reports have to be made to the children's department, the child who persistently comes late and has to struggle with inadequate facilities and lack of encouragement over homework, the immigrant child with his problems of understanding and integration, the child of low intelligence with special needs for achieving his limited potential. The academic acknowledgement of these difficulties can be extended into a deeper realisation of their implications and a warmer, more understanding approach to the children concerned.

In addition to increasing awareness of obvious problems, the social worker can introduce increased sensitivity to children with behaviour problems. Some examples are the attention-seeking child whose behaviour may be ingratiating or disruptive; the child who lacks motivation or powers of concentration; the withdrawn child; the isolated child; the precocious child; the bully. Teachers may be helped to a greater acceptance by an outline, or deeper discussion, of the factors involved — health, marital disharmony, family background, personality development, etc.

Passing on to teachers information acquired during home visits, individual interviews or agency contacts involves questions of confidentiality. Some social workers do not give details at case conferences, others are guarded in the information they give to a mutual register, and refrain from cooperating because they fear it may be misinterpreted or misused. Since this issue is still a matter for debate by social workers with common training and aims, there are difficulties for the school social worker in relation to teachers. If staff members are to be helped to greater awareness of their pupils' problems and the impact of these difficulties on behaviour and performance in school, some details must be conveyed. But how much

and to whom? If the social worker decides to withhold information, how does he justify his reservations when challenged, without appearing to be pretentious? Teachers may expect that, in a two-way process, all information will be shared. Some may see the conveying of such details as the social worker's main justification for including him on the staff.

Helping teachers to greater awareness leads on from understanding the causes of personal difficulties and behaviour problems to looking for solutions. Here the social worker's expertise is put to the test. Teachers may think in terms of quick and easy solutions. When these are not available they may conclude that no solution is possible. They have to be helped to appreciate that, in some cases, a slight modification must be regarded as a major improvement. The damage done by years of insecurity or lack of self-esteem cannot be overcome in a matter of weeks. Frequent setbacks must be tolerated. It is difficult for some teachers to accept that the aims of social work may appear to conflict with their own. When a withdrawn child tries out his newly experienced relief of tension, or when a child lacking in confidence gains in self-reliance, his conduct in the classroom may be markedly different from his previous, inconspicuous (and therefore satisfactory) behaviour. Schools may have to acknowledge problems which have always existed but which have only recently been adequately diagnosed.

Heightening staff awareness of the personal problems of children affects the climate of the school. The gradual development of concern and esteem, of acceptance and informed compassion brings a response from all children, including socially deprived and inadequate. A school social worker can represent the interests of this section of the school community when discussing policy with the headmaster, during staff meetings or in informal discussions in the staffroom. Function and structure of a house system, use of merit and demerit marks, sanctions applied in school, place (and even nature) of school uniform, approach to sex education, use of prefects, appointment to positions of responsibility of the less intelligent, promotion of after-school activities — these are areas where a social worker may help headmaster and staff to appreciate the problems of those he endeavours to help.

In the White Paper *Children in Trouble*, the Government envisages regular discussion between the services working with children: 'teachers . . . will take part in these meetings, and children's departments will maintain close liaison with schools when considering the action to be taken in individual cases'. We feel, that discussion at coordinating meetings is not enough to bring about cooperation and understanding between teachers and social workers. How far it is possible to break down the barriers that exist between the two professions depends on how much

those who train social workers get together with lecturers from colleges of education, to study their respective courses, to agree on what prospective teachers and social workers need to be taught in common about child development, possible methods of dealing with difficulties that occur, and the various sources of help available in the community.

Appointing social workers to individual schools at least means a daily confrontation between members of these separate professions. This in itself will not necessarily bring about understanding between workers from the two fields. But it should at least highlight the areas of overlap between them, point out some of the difficulties that stand in the way of real coordination, and perhaps provide a few examples of effective cooperation between teachers and social workers for the benefit of the children.

The White Paper also stresses the importance of early recognition and treatment of problems. If we accept that preventive work has an important part to play in countering delinquency and other forms of social breakdown, then we should remember the potential of schools to help in this respect. Elizabeth Irvine points out (*New Society*, March 1966) 'once a child has entered school, his teachers probably have more opportunity than anyone but his parents to observe the signs of incipient emotional disturbance or character disorder'. A school social worker provides a casework service for children and their families who might benefit, but would not normally be reached, by other social workers.

Early identification of delinquents

Gordon Rose

For a number of years it has been argued that the early detection of young delinquents might lead to a much more efficient preventive and treatment service becoming available. In this paper Dr Gordon Rose examines various well-known predictive techniques which have been developed both in Britain and in the USA and demonstrates the many difficulties confronting research workers in this field.

Much of the problem concerning the possibility of efficient prevention revolves around the practicability of identifying potential delinquents early enough, the assumption being that, if someone does this, one could prevent delinquency from developing. It is perhaps necessary first of all to say something briefly about the question of whether delinquency is a sufficiently distinct entity to be identified at all. It is obvious that it covers only part of the whole range of maladapted behaviour, and that there are considerable problems in relating legal definitions concerning the offence to individual maladapted behaviour. On the other hand, it is clearly a range of behaviour to which society has a definite reaction, and this in itself, since it is known to the potential offender, acts as a control and a limitation.

Whether or not delinquent behaviour is symptomatic of individual maladjustment, or an expression of antisocial subcultures, in practice it is no less and no more difficult to identify than other forms of maladapted behaviour, which are also necessarily described by their symptoms. The commission of an offence is no doubt a somewhat misleadingly positive event, but it is no more misleading than the numerous definitions of various other forms of maladapted behaviour, and persistent offending is, if symptomatic, undoubtedly behaviour injurious to the community and

thus a symptom which we ought to identify, if only as a guide to the treatment of an underlying condition. To put it bluntly, there really is no reason why we should not try to identify any forms of behaviour, delinquency is no more difficult than others, and there are strong social reasons for trying.

The omens here, however, are not particularly favourable, since various attempts to do this have not been very successful. Perhaps the most sustained and complex procedure was that set up as part of the Cambridge-Somerville Experiment (Powers and Witmer, 1951). In this, teachers, social agencies and the police were asked to refer those who had various behavioural traits on a list compiled by the research members. Home visits were made and a rating derived from these, and the boys were seen by the psychologist, a doctor, a nurse and those who had interviewed the teacher. Added to this was information from social service agencies and probation officers where relevant. In addition the neighbourhood the boy came from was rated for its delinquency record. A committee then examined all of this, evolved definitions and eventually arrived at a rating of each boy on an eleven-point scale. The results at the end of nine years showed that the experts had predicted delinquency about as well as the teachers. Only the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behaviour Rating Schedule showed any validity in prediction, and this was not very great. Both experts and teachers very much over-predicted delinquency and they predicted only about half of the delinquents correctly. It has subsequently been shown that the Glueck scale (referred to below) would have predicted the outcome much more efficiently (Thompson, 1952). Jackson Toby (1961) has pointed out also that the predictions made seem very much affected by the type of neighbourhood the boy comes from and it is true that sociological variables were neglected in the study.

Since this time a lot more thought has been given to the problem of early identification and especially to the whole question of prediction, and considerable advance has been made, at least in understanding what we want. The first thing to do, therefore, is to look at the material on prediction, and we can then discuss the whole problem in more detail.

PREDICTION

The work so far done in this field is well known, but most of it is concerned with offenders who have passed through various forms of treatment, whereas what we are interested in here is predicting future delinquency in individuals from undifferentiated populations, or serious delinquency from less serious. There are a number of tables in the field in various stages of development and validation and we shall refer to these

later. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to consider some problems which these instruments must face, and to be clear about what they are and how they are to be judged. As far back as 1949, Ohlin and Duncan pointed out that a prediction table must at least predict more favourably than the prediction one could derive from merely using the known overall failure rate, and they suggested comparing the proportion of errors (i.e. those predicted as failures who are successes and vice versa) with the proportion of errors made by using the overall 'best prediction' rate (if the failure rate is 60 per cent, the best prediction is that all will fail, and 40 per cent of these predictions will be wrong). They thus arrived at 'percentage reduction in error' which they used as a measure to evaluate a number of the prediction tables then current. A similar point had already been made in Horst *et al.* (1941, pp. 258-9).

The matter was taken further in another article (Duncan, Ohlin, Reiss and Stanton, 1953), which discussed the question of how one could maximise the efficiency of the instrument given various conditions regarding its objectives. The authors suggested a measure called the mean cost rating (MCR), which relates the proportion of the failures falsely identified at any score ('utility') with the proportion of the successes falsely identified ('cost'). An interesting attempt to apply this in a 'configuration' table for use by the courts has been made by Glaser (1962).

Meehl and Rosen (1955) in considering the predictive efficiency of psychological tests make a number of comments which are very relevant to the present context. They point out, following the same line of thought, that the possible predictive power of the instrument depends to a considerable degree upon the incidence expected in the community. For example, the Glueck table for predicting delinquency (*Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, 1950), which they used as an example, presents a very different picture if the approximately equal base rates are corrected to something nearer reality. Reiss (1951) makes a similar point. This is discussed in more detail below. One would not expect to identify delinquents with as much accuracy when they constitute only 20 per cent of the population as one might do if they really constituted 50 per cent. This means either developing an instrument which has very great accuracy in identifying delinquents (not in identifying non-delinquents), or starting with a population in which one expects a high rate of whatever is meant by delinquency in the context.

Meehl and Rosen, however, pass on from this to consider the uses of instruments of this kind in practical situations. They emphasise the considerable time and trouble which are associated with making assessments, and point out that the real criterion of whether or not this should be done is how far one improves upon the base rate and that this may very well be

true, even in a situation where the instrument is used as a screening device to be followed by a more accurate verification. They also consider the situation where there are very limited facilities, or where there are no adequate treatment methods, or where we are not prepared to abandon treatment on cases indicated as not requiring it, and ask how far in these cases the instrument is worth using. Similar points of practical policy in relation to parole have been made by Ohlin (1951), Goodman (1953) and Kahn (1965).

A particularly acute commentary on the predictive instruments with which we are mainly concerned has been made by D. J. Bordua (1961). Following the authors referred to above, he summarises the criteria for judging performance as accuracy (the proportion of cases correctly identified), efficiency (the reduction in the percentage error upon the best prediction), and mean cost rating (balancing cost and utility at various cutting points). On this basis, he deals in detail with the Glueck table and its validation and with the KD Proneness Scale, and finds them wanting.

There are, in general, two approaches to attempts at producing predictive devices; those based on existing tests, and those which use the most significant correlations from followup studies. A difference in outlook is implied. The first derives from the basis that it is important to identify factors which are strongly relevant to the genesis of delinquency and that, therefore, the nature of the instruments is itself important; the second that the important thing is to predict with maximum efficiency and it does not matter what goes into the instrument so long as it works. The point is not made in order to argue the case, but merely to explain the background of the approaches made. The Gluecks span the two as they have used a number of tests in amassing the data from which their table is derived. We will deal first with the test material, however.

It is perhaps necessary at this point to distinguish between the experience table which is derived from the original study, and the prediction table which emerges from a subsequent validation study on a new group. Strictly speaking there is a difference also between 'prediction' and 'selection', but the two terms are often used interchangeably and we will use the term 'prediction' to cover questions of how far and by what means one can select specific groups of individuals.

THE MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY INVENTORY

The MMPI is now so well known that there is little need to explain what it is. A number of examples of applications to delinquency have been collected together by S. R. Hathaway and E. D. Monachesi (1953). They

condemn prediction scales because of their 'sterile attitude that those who become delinquent are so alike that we can talk about them and treat them as a single category — the juvenile delinquent' (p. 11), and they believe that 'the personality variables are more closely and usefully related to delinquency than are the environmental variables acting on the individual' (p. 12).

Later in the book and in another article (Hathaway and Monachesi, 1957), the authors present the results of a two-year and a four-year follow-up of 4 048 ninth grade children (1 997 male and 2 051 female) — that is to say they were about fifteen years old at the outset. It was found that 22 per cent of the boys and 8 per cent of the girls had become delinquent. The results are examined at three levels of delinquency upon the authors' definitions, but the scales do not differentiate consistently between them. While there were several scales differentiating controls from delinquents, there is little evidence of any predictive power. The delinquents tended to come out as more rebellious, excitable and schizoid, but the most striking characteristic of the high delinquency group was the number of inventories in which the respondent failed to answer carefully and consistently, did not take the scale seriously, or could not read well enough (F scale). This in itself might be used as a prediction, but it more probably indicates a failure of the inventory in its applicability to the lower lower class — not surprising in a scale which has some 550 items and takes an hour and a half to administer. It should also be noted that it was developed for adults, and is not standardised on adolescents.

An attempt to use these data upon the lines suggested by Meehl and Rosen has been made by Wirt and Briggs (1959), and Briggs, Wirt and Johnson (1961). They used data from family agencies, and found a factor called 'family disruption from disease' (mother or father was or is chronically ill, siblings die or are chronically ill) to predict reasonably well. They then added to these various MMPI items from the study mentioned above and found they increased the accuracy of prediction slightly. This exercise is somewhat hypothetical as it proceeds from a selected sample and not from the general population, and it is hardly more than a demonstration of Meehl and Rosen's statement that with a high base rate, and a suitable cutting point, it is possible to identify a high number of delinquents if one is prepared to abandon a considerable section of the delinquent population as a whole.

Apart from the rather mild validation aspect of this study there appears to have been no attempt at validation, and this is hardly surprising since the MMPI in its present form does not seem to be of much value as a prediction. No mention has been made of other attempts to use it in relation to correctional measures, but it is likely here also that it should be

confined to its proper role of identifying psychiatric cases. Some success in achieving this has been attained by the California Youth Authority (E. S. Guttman, 1961).

THE JESNESS INVENTORY

This inventory was developed in connection with a California Youth Authority study at Fricot Ranch School aimed at understanding the delinquent's personality and developing more effective methods for his rehabilitation. It thus has the advantage of being specifically concerned with delinquents. It was necessary to construct a reliable and valid instrument to measure change. The sample was of 145 delinquents and 300 non-delinquents and the first validation sample 277 delinquents and 368 non-delinquents. The delinquents were the total population of the school in 1961, and the non-delinquents were from six public schools in urban districts selected as serving a similar socioeconomic class as the delinquents. Forty-four boys were removed for known delinquencies and, since none had been in a training school, they were used as a further delinquent sample. There may well be some undetected delinquency in the others. Ages were from eight to fourteen inclusive. Subsequently, a further validation study was carried out (Jesness, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963).

The scale consists of 155 true-false items, the results being combined to measure the beliefs, attitudes and opinions of the subjects under the following headings:

Social maladjustment	63 items
Value orientation	39 items
Immaturity	45 items
Autism	28 items
Alienation	26 items
Manifest aggression	31 items
Withdrawal	24 items
Social anxiety	24 items
Repression	15 items
Denial	20 items

From these (omitting immaturity and denial) an asocial index is constructed which looks promising. At its best cutting point it would identify 74 per cent of delinquents with 65 per cent true positives where the delinquency rate is 20 per cent (the estimated rate for delinquency in the US over the age range ten to seventeen (Perlman, 1959)). This is a very good performance and the scale obviously merits validation in other countries. A point which might repay further work is the development of

differentiation between the incarcerated and the non-incarcerated, particularly at points where the base expectation is high.

Some work on this has been done in England. The original study carried out in a prison department project indicated an acquiescence set, i.e., scoring high by simply answering questions in the affirmative when the subject is being cooperative rather than informative. Further studies by M. Davies and J. Mott of the Home Office (not yet published) of probationers, approved school boys and comparable boys from ordinary schools do not confirm this and show that while there are some differences, particularly in relation to the immaturity and alienation subscales, the inventory undoubtedly distinguishes between delinquents and non-delinquents in England. Its predictive powers, however, have yet to be tested in both countries.

THE KD PRONENESS SCALE AND CHECK LIST

This scale, developed by Dr W. Kvaraceus of Boston University, consists of seventy-five multiple choice items covering personality, home and family background, and school experience. The check list contains seventy items and is filled out by the teacher (Kvaraceus, 1945, 1950). The scale has been studied extensively by Dr J. K. Balogh of Bowling Green University, Ohio, using both White and Negro groups (Balogh and Ramage, 1956; Kvaraceus, 1956; Balogh, 1958; Balogh and Finn, 1961; Balogh, 1961, 1962). Other smaller studies are referred to by Kvaraceus in his 1956 article. The only study which seems to have large enough numbers to be at all reliable is that conducted by Balogh and Ramage in 1956. This scored 750 public school boys, 182 delinquents drawn from institutions, and 453 boys in a third category also used by Kvaraceus called 'high morale boys', i.e., those who were doing pretty well scholastically and were the leaders for good in the school. These figures are considerably larger than Kvaraceus's own example of 98, 156 and 16. The results showed that there was significant discrimination between all the groups, but less markedly so when broken down into age groups, which may be a function of smaller numbers. The scale thus seems to discriminate between delinquents and non-delinquents, but no attempt has been made to discuss its validity as a predictive instrument in the studies mentioned above. Does it in fact identify, accurately and with efficiency, those offenders who eventually become delinquent, as distinct from showing a difference in mean scores between groups of those who are already known to be delinquent and those who are not?

The only attempt to do this has been made by Bordua (1961) in the publication previously referred to. He assembles data from Kvaraceus,

1956 summary which cover 599 delinquents all but seven in institutions, 1 213 unselected public school boys, and 643 'high morale' boys, also as named by the school authorities. He assumes that these boys constitute a total population from which the task is to predict who would fall into the group labelled delinquency. This gives a table as follows:

Table 24.1 *Efficiency experience table with KD Proneness Scale*

Score class with assumed cutting point			Score class best prediction		
	Total cases	% del.		Total cases	% del.
-1 to -33	1 998	13.3	Non-del.	2 374	18.0
0 to 29	608	48.2	Del.	232	56.5
Total	2 606	21.5		2 606	21.5
Efficiency = 3.7%			Maximum efficiency = 5.6%		

Maximum efficiency here is calculated by adding together all those classes of which there are more than 50 per cent delinquents regardless of their position on the scale of scores. It will be seen that the scale is hardly likely to be successful as a predictor. Bordua also points out that the studies made indicate that the items of which the scale is made up seem to be more closely related to social class, which in itself is related to delinquency, than to a direct identification of delinquency, and a measure of social class might predict just as well. What is more, in a sample homogeneous in social class, which would be necessary in all probability to maintain a delinquency rate of something in the nature of 25 per cent, the KD scale may not predict at all. It seems likely, therefore, that this particular instrument can be discounted as a predictive device, even though it may discriminate between known delinquents and non-delinquents.

THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

This is a general personality assessment developed by Professor H. G. Gough of the University of California, Berkeley. It consists of eighteen scales in four groups covering poise, ascendancy and self assurance; socialisation, maturity and social responsibility; achievement potential and intellectual efficiency; and personal orientation and attitudes towards life. In the present context we are, however, concerned with only one of these, scale 8, Socialisation. This has fifty-four items and is intended to indicate the 'degree of social maturity, probity and rectitude which the individual has attained'.

The scale has a theoretical basis of role-playing:

First of all, the basis for industrial sociality is social interaction, and this interaction is effective in so far as the individual can look upon himself as an object or can assume various roles. This role-taking ability provides a technique for self-understanding and self-control. Learned prohibitions (and all social interdictions must be learned) may be observed by 'telling one's self' not to behave in a certain way. Or speech may be 'editorially reviewed' as it is emitted, and the inadmissible deleted. Role-playing or putting one's self in another's position, enables a person to predict the other's behaviour. Finally, role-playing ability makes one sensitive in advance to reactions of others; such prescience may then deter or modify the unexpected action (Gough, 1948, p. 363).

This is very similar to the approach taken by the Grants in developing their 'maturity' scale (Sullivan, Grant and Grant, 1957; Grant and Grant, 1959). On the above basis Gough and Peterson (1952) developed a scale which discriminated between delinquents and non-delinquents and which gave significant differences between first and subsequent offenders. True identification was made in 78 per cent of cases. There is, however, no adequate validation.

The socialisation scale has been used a number of times in the United States and also in several other countries, and consistently gives significant differences between means of scores of delinquents and non-delinquents. It has also been used by Dinitz and Reckless in a series of studies of the 'self-concept' of delinquents, deriving from the Sutherland learning theory of delinquency (Dinitz, Reckless and Kay, 1957, 1958a, 1958b; Scarpitti, *et al.*, 1960). None of these studies starts from an unselected population. The nearest are the Reckless and Dinitz studies which are based on 'good' and 'bad' boys selected by teachers. Scarpitti *et al.* (1960) show that the CPI scores of the 'good' boys have remained very constant at the end of a four-year followup period ($N = 125$, of whom 103 were restudied). The scoring is on a previous version of the socialisation scale (the De scale). Dinitz, Scarpitti and Reckless (1962), confirm this and show similar stability in the cohort of seventy 'bad' boys and thus a consistent difference in the expected direction over the four years in the mean scores of about 10 points. However, while the 'bad' boy scores at 12 and 16 correlated at $r = 0.78$, the 'good' scores only gave $r = 0.15$. There is not enough information to assess predictive capacity. The same scale, amended by the authors, was used in *Growing Up in River City*, referred to below, but here again there is no information which would enable one to assess predictive capacity and it is not available in this form.

The socialisation scale of the CPI, therefore, is unproved as a prediction

instrument, but it would appear to have possibilities which are worth following up.

THE SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

Mention has already been made above to work by Reckless, Dinitz and their associates. This has been in developing a scale which attempts to measure how far the subject sees himself as an offender, on the assumption that if he sees himself that way, he is. In a series of followup studies (1955-60) it has been established that comparison of two cohorts of sixth grade White boys from the high delinquency areas, selected by teachers as pre-delinquent (132) or non-delinquent (222), shows significant differences on a number of questions relating to self-concept. Sixteen items have emerged which correlated with the CPI as noted above and this is considered to be a validation (Donald and Dinitz, 1964). It is, of course, dependent upon teachers' opinions, of which more below, and the effectiveness of the CPI and validation only extends to the identification of offenders, and it may not have predictive power on a new sample.

A fair amount of other work has been done upon the self-concept idea, which derives largely from Mead and Cooley, the most relevant being a study by Rosenberg (1965) in which he analyses the concept in some detail and produces a series of scales dealing with various aspects: self esteem, stability of self image, faith in other people, sensitivity to criticism, feelings of happiness, day-dreaming, psychosomatic symptoms, sensitivity to threats from others, intensity of discussion, parental interest, relationship with father. These scales were tested out on 5 024 high school pupils in ten schools in New York, chosen by stratification of communities on size, but omitting dropouts and absentees and students in parochial or private secular schools. There is no discussion of the sample and it is not clear whether specific variables may have been affected by partial or non-completion by the subjects tested; certainly many of the tables give totals substantially less than 5 000. The picture of the adolescent with low self esteem which emerges is one of a rather withdrawn and anxious personality and not what one would associate with delinquency. Nevertheless it might be interesting to analyse these scales against delinquent behaviour.

THE BRISTOL SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT GUIDES

These were developed by Dr D. H. Stott, then at the University of Glasgow. They are a series of tests which assess the social adjustment of children. A number of statements have been collected and tested for reliability, and the result combined into a series of items which are

checked by an adult who knows the child: teacher, social worker or staff of residential institution. There are three versions for use in the day school, residential establishment and the family. The validation samples are, however, quite small as yet, though the scale is being used on a large 1958 cohort of children (Stott and Sykes, 1956, 1958).

Stott has subsequently developed a delinquency prediction instrument based on the guides (Stott, 1960*a*, 1960*b*). This derives from a survey of boys put on probation and non-delinquent controls in Glasgow in 1957. Four hundred and fifteen boys aged eight to fifteen were matched with 404 controls who were non-delinquent boys from the same schools with as nearly as possible the same birth dates (non-delinquent here presumably means 'no known delinquency'). The guide was completed by the teacher for each of the boys. The results show a moderate degree of differentiation regarding delinquency: 23 per cent of the delinquents fell into the 'normal' group as against 71 per cent of the controls, and in the mal-adjusted 46 per cent and 8 per cent. Stott is, however, careful to relate this to the total population at risk when it appears that only about a quarter of delinquents would be correctly predicted.

Stott then selected a number of items highly predictive of delinquency and has constructed a scale. Relating this to the total population in this Glasgow age group and taking into account the possible future delinquency of the non-delinquents as instanced by the age specific delinquency rate, Stott concludes that his instrument would select between 50 and 75 per cent of the delinquents in the population, according to the cutting point used, and then 60 to 90 per cent of the original group of non-delinquents selected by these same cutting points would also become delinquent by the age of fifteen (Stott, 1960*b*). Stott claims that even those who are not predicted as delinquent may show up on the guide as maladjusted and therefore need help. He also points out that the guide is based on information known to the teacher, takes only ten to fifteen minutes to complete, and this could be reduced by a prior screening of only six items which would cut out the non-delinquents. It would put large scale screening within the bounds of practicability (Stott, 1960*a*, p. 204), which would certainly be a great help. For the British, there is also an advantage that this is a scale derived from a population living in Great Britain.

THE MULLIGAN SCALE

This was developed for use in the long term followup of a cohort of about 5 000 children born in 1948, a study under the direction of Dr J. W. B. Douglas of the Medical Research Council Social Medicine Unit, London

School of Economics. Only one short article seems to have been published (Mulligan *et al.*, 1963), but the scale has in fact been used on this sample at the ages of thirteen and fifteen. It is primarily designed to measure maladjustment and gives three scores indicating the nervous, the aggressive and those with a combination of the two. The aggressive scale correlates highly with delinquency. There is no way of telling at the moment if it has any predictive power but it has the advantage of being short enough for a teacher to fill in rapidly for a whole class. It is being used currently in the Family Development Study and the Central Lancashire Family and Community Project.

THE RUTTER SCALE

This is very similar to the Mulligan scale but has been well validated only for the nine to ten age group. It also consists of a short list of questions to be answered by the teacher. First results in a validation in the Isle of Wight, where scores have been compared with psychiatric assessments, are encouraging. The scale is still under development by Dr Rutter of the Institute of Psychiatry, Maudsley Hospital, London.

'GROWING UP IN RIVER CITY'

This is the title of a book by Professor Havighurst and his associates (Havighurst *et al.*, 1962). It is a partial report upon a longitudinal study in a midwest town in which 247 boys and 240 girls in the sixth grade (about eleven years old) were studied intensively and their careers then followed through for nine years. The objects were originally stated as follows: (1) To discover early children who can profit most by special help. (2) To develop a corps of local community residents to help these children, at no extra cost to the community. (3) To provide for expert consultation, direction and evaluation of the project. There was a control group and an experimental group two years younger (Havighurst *et al.*, 1952). The present study reports only the control group results. The idea of using community resources in the form of local teams of volunteers, trained by the project, does not appear to have been very successful, nor do attempts to bring parents in (Bowman *et al.*, 1953, 1956).

At this point we are concerned primarily with the attempt to predict delinquency. Among the various tests used were a behaviour description chart based on information given by someone knowing the child, and a sociometric test, *Who were they?*, administered to the children. From these were derived scores of aggressive and withdrawn maladjustment and of good adjustment. The definitions given are vague, but there seems to be

a good deal of emphasis in assessing maladjustment upon whether or not others can get on with the child, and whether he is a source of disturbance and difficulty.

The authors divide the offences known (contacts with the police) over the whole period into four categories, of which three contain those who would normally be counted as offenders, of whom there are fifty out of 247 studied (20 per cent). The figures are therefore very small. However, it was found that all the thirteen boys on whom data was available and who were defined as 'most serious' delinquents were in the top quarter of the aggressive maladjustment score and fifteen of the forty-seven boys for whom information was available and who were categorised in any one of the three delinquent categories fell into the top 5 per cent of scores, twenty-one in the top 10 per cent and thirty-two in the top 25 per cent. The numbers are, however, so small that it hardly seems worth attempting to examine these figures further, especially as forty of the 162 non-delinquents fell in the same range. An added difficulty is that the reliability of the scale is doubtful, though the only information given is a correlation of 0.56 for boys and 0.50 for girls between sixth and seventh grade and ninth grade scores. It would be necessary to do a lot more work on this before it was clear whether or not it could be used as a predictor.

THE 'GUESS WHO' GAME

This is a questionnaire for primary school populations derived from Hartshorne and May with modifications and used in a study carried out by the New York State Youth Commission (1952). The data related to 4 520 pupils in grades three to eight in ten schools in the vicinity of Albany, NY. In addition there was a teachers' check list, a measure of social isolation and IQ and achievement scores. In a followup period of three years, 114 children (2 per cent) appeared in the courts. Unfortunately the data are not presented in any detail. The 'Guess Who' aggressive scale identifies only 46 per cent of the delinquents but was the best single measure. A combination with the teachers' check list increased the identification to 77 per cent.

There is, however, an interesting sequel in a study made by the Institute of Criminology, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia (1954), using the 'Guess Who' inventory on 2 615 elementary school children, with a seven-year follow-up. This showed that while the 'Guess Who' inventory only identified forty-eight out of eighty-eight delinquents (54 per cent), if combined with poor school achievement it identified nearly all of them. This 'game' involves a series of distinctly derogatory statements and the child is asked to say who in his class fits them. There is some danger of objection by

parents or teachers, or reluctance on the part of the children. The Ljubljana inquiry looked into this and found no evidence of serious problems on this score. It is doubtful, however, whether the same method would be applicable to an older group.

THE GLUECK PREDICTION TABLE

The Gluecks have, of course, produced a number of prediction tables, most of which are concerned with methods of treatment. We are concerned here only with those derived from *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, 1950. This study is mainly a detailed comparison of 500 delinquents from an institution and 500 non-delinquents matched on age, general intelligence, ethnic origin, and residence in under-privileged neighbourhoods. It is important to realise that the predictive devices produced from this are based on the history of these two previously selected groups.

Three prediction tables were in fact constructed, covering social background, five of the character traits in the Rorschach test, and five personality traits from the psychiatric interviews. All of them are very much based on subjective judgements. (Prigmore, 1963, has shown considerable variations in ratings made by people with northern-southern, Negro-White backgrounds.) The two latter both depend a good deal on expertise and are likely to be subject even more than the first to a good deal of variability from one judge to another. Thus, the only one which has been used is that based on five factors from the social background. These are discipline of boy by father, supervision of boy by mother, affection of father for boy, affection of mother for boy, cohesiveness of family, each of which is defined at some length. The original table is as follows (*Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, p. 261):

Table 24.2

Weighted failure score class	No. of dels.	Chances of del. (per 100)	No. of non-del.	Chances of non-del. (per 100)
Under 150	5	2.9	167	97.1
150-199	19	15.7	102	84.3
200-249	40	37.0	68	63.0
250-299	122	63.5	70	36.5
300-349	141	56.0	23	14.0
350-399	73	90.1	8	9.9
400 and over	51	98.1	1	1.9
	451		439	

A number of criticisms have been made of both *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* and of the prediction tables (Reiss, 1951; Shaplin and Tiedman, 1951; Walters, 1956).

1. The table is based not upon a random sample from the population but upon a matched group so that the expectation of success is an artefact of roughly half, actually 49.3 per cent success and 50.7 per cent failure. (Wirt and Briggs, 1960, have shown the validity of Meehl and Rosen's criticisms on this general point.) This is, of course, far more than one would expect to get from an unselected population and although there may be American high delinquency areas which approach it, the Gluecks record 20 per cent of their delinquents as coming from areas with rates of 2.5–4.99 per cent and 15 per cent with rates of 5–10 per cent. The percentage of offences in New York in 1961 was 4.44, and in Manhattan, where most of the high delinquency areas are, it was 6.53. On the other hand, the figure may be taken to refer to the whole period up to the age at which the delinquents were studied and Perlman (1959) suggests that about 20 per cent of all boys would have at least one court appearance over the period from ten to seventeen, and Havighurst *et al.* (1962) confirm this as roughly correct. In England the National Survey of Health and Development found 7 per cent of boys had at least one indictable offence and a further 2 per cent at least one non-indictable between their eighth and sixteenth birthdays. Lander (1954) notes that 40 per cent of Negro boys aged fourteen to fifteen had a record at the Baltimore Juvenile Court.
2. The offenders were all White, and largely Anglo-Saxon or Italian, whereas the highest delinquency rates in the United States are found among under-privileged groups, particularly Negroes and Puerto Ricans.
3. There is an implied assumption that the whole apparatus of police, courts and treatment will have the same effect wherever the table is tried. This is relevant to the use of the table in other countries.
4. The age range is 11½ to over 16½ with a mean of 14 years 7.79 months \pm 1 year 7.06 months and information stretches backwards from this. Also, since the assessments are based upon material carefully collected over a period, subjectivity of judgements may vary according to date.
5. The offenders studied came from a reformatory school and were specially selected as being 'really serious offenders' (*Unraveling*, p. 27). What is being predicted, therefore, is the likelihood of boys becoming offenders of the type who would have been sent to a reformatory school from Boston, and not whether they become offenders at all.
6. The offending group had long criminal histories. The average age of onset of persistent misbehaviour was 8.35 ± 2.39 and of first court appear-

ance 12.4 ± 2.1 . This implies that most of those identified as delinquents should appear early in an on-going validation study.

7. The emphasis of the scale is upon family disorganisation and one would expect it to identify offenders coming from such families, though by no means all do so.

Bordua discusses the Gluecks' table and assesses its accuracy at 81.3 per cent and its efficiency, i.e., percentage reduction in error, at 62.1 per cent, using only the original figures, but he points out that if the figures are related to an overall failure rate of 20 per cent, efficiency would fall to 29.5 per cent.

The main interest in the Glueck tables has for some time centred round validation. As Herzog (1960) points out, there are two forms of studies, those which take existing material and demonstrate that the table would have given better results if it had been applied, which she calls post-dictive, i.e., retrospective studies; and those which apply the tables at the outset and wait to see what will happen, which she calls predictive studies. In the first category there are a number of studies reported (*see* E. T. Glueck, 1960) of which the most interesting are those by Black and Glick (1952) of 100 boys from the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School, and by Thompson (1952) of 100 of the boys studied in the Cambridge - Somerville Youth Study (Powers and Witmer, 1951). They all show high rates of accurate identification of delinquents and non-delinquents, in the Thompson study the results being much better than the complex method used by the Cambridge-Somerville research team. The table has also been used in Japan and France and appears to work as well there. In the second category there are only two studies, one by the New York City Youth Board, and the other by the Commissioner's Youth Council of the District of Columbia. The latter is of 179 children, girls and boys, in two elementary schools in very high delinquency areas in Washington and is called the Maximum Benefits Project (Tait and Hodges, 1962).

The New York City Youth Board validation project has been in progress since 1952 and has been reported on three times (1957, 1961, 1963). The sample was drawn from schools in a high delinquency neighbourhood though the actual delinquency rate is not given. All boys entering first grade classes, age range $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ years, in two schools in 1952-53 were included, giving a total of 224 boys. The ethnic composition was 24 per cent White, 58 per cent Negro, and 18 per cent Puerto Rican, and thus so different from the original Glueck population that a further seventy-nine White boys were subsequently selected for study.

Problems soon arose about the method of rating families and the interpretation of definitions of the predictive factors particularly of the two headings, affection of father and of mother for the boy, which seemed to

overlap with supervision, discipline and cohesion and thus led to a re-examination of the factors by the Gluecks. As noted, the original Glueck data are more comprehensive than can be obtained in a single interview and there are difficulties in maintaining the same interpretations for rating purposes. High correlations were found between the factors, and it was concluded that a three or two factor table would be as effective (E. T. Glueck, 1962). In the same article an attempt is made to differentiate more clearly in the middle of the table and to produce a table for predicting serious delinquency from those who have already become delinquent. A new social prediction table is also presented based on supervision of boy by mother, discipline of boy by mother, and rearing by parent substitute.

The ten-year results reported in the *Manual of Procedures for Application of the Glueck Prediction Table* (Craig and Glick, 1964) include more cases than the authors' article of the previous year (Craig and Glick, 1963), presumably because of the sampling procedure which subsequently added seventy-nine non-Puerto Rican Whites to the original sample of 224. They are as follows:

Table 24.3

Score	Actual result		Total
	Delinquent	Non-delinquent	
Low (less than 140)	7	236	243
Even (140-200)	9	16	25
High (200+)	28	5	33
Totals	44	257	301

It is interesting to compare this with the results of the Washington Project (Trevett, 1965). (The table is given before redistribution of the non-predicted in order to make it comparable with the New York table.)

Table 24.4

Score	Actual result		Total
	Delinquent	Non-delinquent	
Low	—	22	22
Even	18	8	26
High	92	22	114
Totals	110	52	162

Before considering these results we should look at some differences between the New York and Washington samples. The New York sample consists of boys only and they are the unselected intake of elementary schools, while the Washington sample had forty-seven girls (no separate results are given) and were referred cases in a study attempting to work with delinquency-prone children. Secondly, the New York study had 130 Whites (of whom at least twenty-three were Jewish), 131 Negroes and forty-two Puerto Ricans, whereas the Washington study had 106 Negro boys, thirty-nine Negro girls, twenty-six White boys, and eight White girls. Thirdly, the ages at entry into the two studies were $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ in New York and five to fourteen in Washington (distribution not stated but only 17 per cent had reached eighteen at the time of the followup). The Washington data was collected between September 1954 and June 1957 and followed up to 1962, and it is not clear whether the period of followup is exactly the same in each case — it is obviously somewhere between five and eight years. Lastly, the New York assessment seems to have been done on one visit whereas in Washington there was close contact. In view of these differences it is interesting to note that the failure rate in New York was 14.6 per cent and in Washington 67.9 per cent; the Washington cases were much more likely to become delinquent despite the inclusion of girls (although it appears as if serious sexual irregularities have been taken into account). It is impossible to say whether the criteria for 'persistent delinquency' were applied equally in the two studies. However, it was much more difficult to predict delinquency in New York than in Washington.

With these facts in mind we may look at some comparative figures.

Table 24.5

	New York (%)	Washington (%)	Glueck three-factor table* (%)
Correct predictions†	91.7	78.5	82.3
Correct predictions of delinquency	81.6	80.5	88.9
Correct predictions as percentage of all those who became delinquent	63.6	83.7	70.3
Percentage reduction in error (correcting for unpredicted)	56.8	38.6	64.2
Percentage reduction in error (omitting unpredicted)	72.6	57.6	84.0

* Reconstructed from Table IV in E. T. Glueck (1963).

† The unpredicted are badly distributed and I have therefore counted half as errors.

In the original Glueck table where 50.7 per cent of the sample was delinquent the percentage reduction in error was 62.1 per cent. The Washington study shows lower percentage reductions in error. It should be noted, however, that the 'best' prediction for New York was success, and for Washington was failure.

The original scoring has all been recalculated and rearranged to suit the New York study (E. T. Glueck, 1962, 1963). What is surprising is that it also seems to work in the very different conditions of the Washington study, where 13.6 per cent score low as against 80.8 per cent in New York (in the original table less than 1 per cent scored on the equivalent portion of the scale, whereas on the revised three-factor table 46.5 per cent are in this section). It is, of course, extremely difficult to say whether or not these are successful results. Much depends upon what one thinks ought to be predicted. Although it is true, as Kahn (1965) points out, that the figures given in the reports could well be misleading, they all still might be very good. It depends what one compares them with.

PROBLEMS OF EARLY IDENTIFICATION

This brief review of the situation regarding prediction brings out a number of unanswered questions regarding early identification. There are really three main problems: first, can we identify with any degree of efficiency? secondly, if we do identify potential offenders can we give them early treatment which is likely to be successful? and thirdly, if early identification is worth while at all, under what conditions is this so? And underlying these questions are others concerning what it is we want to identify, that is to say, what we are prepared to define as abnormal to the extent of indicating a delinquent future.

It is clear from what has been said above that the chances of efficient prediction are at the moment somewhat doubtful, but it may be that what we are doing is to set our sights too high. Prediction is not something which is only done by means of statistical tables; it happens all the time and whenever we make any kind of diagnosis, whether expert or not. The real percentage reduction in error is not upon the use of the overall base rate in terms of the proportion of known delinquents but upon the base rate of the predictions made by an experienced worker in the field. For what happens in practise is that when the case is found by, or presented to, the worker, he then has to make a decision as to action. In other words, he has to select: first of all whether to act or not, and secondly what action to take. The prediction 'delinquent' or 'non-delinquent' may be one of the factors in that selection or the main one.

The suggestion has too often been made by tactful proponents of prediction that the table is only one element in the decision to be made. This may well be true at the stage of potential delinquency because the information delinquent/non-delinquent is not indicative of any specific treatment method. It can hardly be true at the court stage if the table (and we do not have such tables) indicates clearly a particular method of disposal or if later on it indicates a particular length of sentence. This man may be one of the 20 per cent wrong if the table says 80 per cent right, but the selector cannot do better almost by definition.

Even the Gluecks themselves are modest in the final assessment of the function of their own predictions.

'It should be emphasised,' they wrote, 'that these prediction tables should not be used mechanically and as a substitute for clinical judgement' — a statement which taken at its face value would seem to suggest — what surely cannot be intended — that in the end the Gluecks themselves have greater faith in their intuitive judgement than in the prediction tables which all their elaborate investigations and calculations have produced (Wootton, 1959, p. 198).

Barbara Wootton also points out that there have been few attempts to test the tables against subjective judgement and not all of these show considerable improvements (pp. 184–5).

Does this matter, however? Is not what one wants a systematisation of the data (and both people's judgements and statistical prediction tables are just this) which is at least as reliable as the 'best' judgements, is simple to apply and can be used by anyone even if he has less than enough experience to make his judgement the 'best'? That is to say, whether or not we insist on positive screening, or we assess the case as it comes to us, we want a device, like an intelligence test if not as effective, which tells us roughly where the case stands at that point in time in relation to delinquency — high possibility, uncertain or low. It would, of course, be much better to have individual predictions of high efficiency and we ought to take into account the circumstances in which we can devise them most efficiently, but so long as the tables, or indeed the overall rates, are better than 'best' judgements we ought to rely on them *to that degree to which the prospect of delinquency is important in our decisions upon action*. What is very lacking in the studies already made are inquiries into how far, and in what circumstances, the tables are in fact better than 'best' judgement, or indeed 'average' judgement, and thus when they ought to be used. One would think *a priori* that they were in most circumstances but nothing is very certain in this field.

As noted above the interpretation of the results of the Glueck validations is difficult. A table which works well in varying situations – and the Gluecks claim successes in various countries and situations (E. T. Glueck, 1960) – is either remarkably good, or so coarse in its operation that one cannot help suspecting that any reasonably informed person would do almost as well. Picking out the really difficult children is not easy, and even less so in the population at large than amongst borstal boys, and it may be that this is not an operation which can be improved upon so much by large expenditures that it is worth while. While the table found a higher proportion delinquent in the selected group in Washington we would expect this, and the overall percentage reduction in error is not as high. In situations where the incidence is high our guesses are in any case likely to be more accurate. In such situations predictive devices are less necessary, though they might still help if efficient.

It is also necessary to be sure what we want to predict and thus to what the incidence relates. Do we want to identify the child who at any time in a stated period in the future will become known to the police for any purpose? If not, do we want to identify only the 'persistent' offender, however that may be defined? Do we include all traffic offences, or some traffic offences, or none? Do we want to identify those more likely to commit certain forms of offence? Or are we concerned with patterns of offences over a period? The answers to these questions obviously depend upon how we are proposing to dispose our forces on the treatment side and with what effect. If we can spot the future 'persistent' or 'major' offender, can we do anything effective to make the prediction false? (If we really can, of course, we shall have to reconstruct the predictive instrument.)

A good deal depends upon the degree of truth there is in the assumption, generally made, that maladjustments (in which we include all maladaptations to society) start with small beginnings and gradually become worse if not checked. How far this is true is very difficult to say, especially as most of the Freudian canon is dependent upon arguments from effect to cause. The persistence of delinquent behaviour in our most serious offenders would appear to demonstrate that there is a class of children who are already untreatable by the methods known to us, or at least the forces we are able to deploy, right from the beginning – though it is always possible to argue that they might have been if the beginning, i.e., their first known maladjustment, had been earlier discovered. And in so far as delinquent actions may be deeply embedded in the culture from which delinquents come our chances of dealing with them cannot be very high.

Nor do the methods we use for dealing with those whose behaviour is seriously disturbed seem to be very effective. Levitt (1957) following

Eysenck's compilation of followup studies of psychotherapy on adults (1952), did a similar piece of work on child guidance and came to a similar conclusion. He took eighteen reports of evaluations at the close of treatment and seventeen at followup, and compared them with two studies where cases referred but not treated were also followed. The untreated gave an overall 'improved' rate of 72.5 per cent and the treated of 73.27 per cent, thus indicating lack of success in treatment in general, though there is no indication here of any specific form of treatment or condition which was in fact more successfully treated. There is an interesting indication of a two-and-a-half-year period in which most of the improvement occurred, but we do not know how long-standing the problems were beforehand. The Gluecks' long-term studies (Glueck and Glueck, 1945), of course, suggest a periodicity independent of treatment. A subsequent evaluation study by Levitt, Beiser and Robertson (1959) with a control group also had negative results. The suggestion is made that the clinic concerned was staffed largely with inexperienced people, but problems of this kind are, of course, just the point; our resources are not very great compared with the size of the problem. A rather sad little article by Healy *et al.* (1935) entitled 'The close of another chapter in criminology' finds no difference in outcome between delinquents referred to the Judge Baker Clinic in Boston and those not so referred.

We must conclude, therefore, that if our screening device is throwing up cases of the kind which might be sufficiently disturbed to go to a child guidance clinic, our chances of dealing with them are not good. On the other hand, it is possible that, because of their greater integration into the education and health services, both of which are free, British clinics may be getting a very different type of child. The only British study included by Levitt (Maberly and Sturge, 1939) shows a result in the middle of the range of the improved; and it seems doubtful if British clinics are getting easier cases, or that they are any better staffed than their American counterparts. We should not, of course, rely too much upon Levitt's assumptions regarding the improvement rate of the untreated, which are derived from only two American studies; but we ought to face up to the fact that there is considerable doubt about the possibilities of successful treatment in this field. On the other hand, if Levitt is right in his assumption, the natural remission rate is about 70 per cent, which is akin to the high success rates in the early stages of treatment of delinquency and thus should give us cause for thought.

We have been speaking so far of the more serious offender, but there is, of course, a question at the other end. We obviously do not want to waste a lot of effort upon problems which will clear themselves up. It is nice to be helpful and no doubt we can be to some extent, but no one, not even

the Americans, has the resources to be able to offer help to any child or family who may be in any kind of trouble. In this respect there is a certain amount of danger in educative processes intended to sensitise teachers, doctors and similar people, who are normally in touch with families, to the incipient signs of maladjustment, mental disorders or delinquency. There are a number of mental health programmes in America (Kotinsky and Witmer, 1955) which operate upon these lines. In so far as these are attempts to change general attitudes they are very helpful (though probably not very successful) but in so far as they encourage early referral they will only be successful if sufficient contact and understanding can be built up to enable those to whom cases are referred *not* to do anything about a large proportion of them and to build up understanding about what sort of cases can be taken. This underlines the value of permanent close relationships between an agency and its source of referral, as in the relationship between the police and the social work agency in the Englewood project in Chicago (Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, 1958).

These considerations put a premium on the predictive device which predicts accurately in the middle of the range and needless to say this is where the tables predict least well. It seems unlikely that improvements in them "will help very much in relation to attempts to select from an undifferentiated population, because of the low incidence. It may be more profitable to start either with areas in which there is a very high incidence, which might mean defining a number of discontinuous small areas as Sprott and his associates have done (Sprott *et al.*, 1954), or with boys who are known delinquents already, i.e., on the whole a bit further along the road. The second of these alternatives is very much reinforced by the fact that there is a considerable increase in reconvictions between those who have come to court the first time and those who appear again. This appears to be so both in a study conducted by Dr B. R. Hutcheson in Boston (Hutcheson, Cooper and Kaiser, 1961; Hutcheson *et al.*, 1963) and in data published by the Home Office (Home Office, 1964) although it is less pronounced, the younger the child. If we knew what characteristics distinguished the first from the subsequent appearances we would be very much nearer a relevant predictive device, and this would be reinforced if it were linked to actual, as against delinquent career, or if the comparison were made at an earlier stage of police intervention.

It should be emphasised very heavily that this pessimistic conclusion about early identification is based on the difficulty of applying any system on an effective scale. It certainly ought not to preclude continued effort and experimentation in this field. It may be, for instance, that much could be effected by separating out, and possibly removing, a small number of

psychopathic adolescent boys around whom gangs coalesce and who very much intensify antisocial tendencies in the less committed boys who drift along with them. People who have worked closely with adolescent groups tend to suggest the existence of a core group, and Charlotte Banks' preliminary results (1964) also strongly indicate this. There are no doubt other ways of working with some real effect and on an economic scale. It does not follow that improvements in social services necessarily reduce crime, but they may well do so, and even if they increase crime this may be an unfortunate side effect in what is mainly of benefit in other ways. We cannot stop trying because we are not too sure what we are doing — but at least we can attempt to increase our knowledge by doing our best to assess our actions.

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Police juvenile liaison: practice and evaluation

J. A. Mack

The work of the police juvenile liaison officer scheme in connection with first and minor offenders began in Liverpool over twenty years ago. This pioneering effort has been followed in many other police areas. In this extract John Mack examines the operation of the JLOs in a Scottish city and indicates the degree of success so far achieved. We may conclude that, even if such police work could be shown to have no real effectiveness in reducing delinquency, it would at least produce invaluable side-effects by way of strengthening public confidence in the police and in presenting children with a more positive and less frightening image of them than has often in the past been the case in poor localities.

THE 'POTENTIAL DELINQUENT'

There is a continuing confusion in Scotland, and probably elsewhere, in the use of this phrase. It would make for clarity on several levels if the term could be clearly defined: and it is suggested that it should be used only in those cases where no offence has been committed, but where the behaviour of the child has been such as to create concern and a desire for advice and help in those near to the child — for example parents, relatives, friends of the family, headmasters and teachers, clergymen, and others to whom parents or elders may have appealed for advice and help. This last category may well include the police themselves.

In practice the term seems to be used differently in different areas and at different times in the same area. This makes it almost impossible to classify the various meanings it is made to carry. One of these variants, it may be suggested, is provided by cases where a child has committed an offence, but the people offended against don't want to have a case made

of it. In ordinary circumstances nothing more is heard of the case, and even where the police come across it the person concerned might specially request that nothing be done. But in areas where there is a JLO scheme the 'victim' might very well invoke the help of the JLO.

A stronger version of this is where shopkeepers, and especially the managers of multidepartment stores, decline to prosecute children for petty thefts from their counters. This was one of the main sources of early police juvenile liaison cases in Liverpool, the city which pioneered the new system in an informal way in 1949, and took it up officially a year or two later. Indeed it was one of the main reasons for the adoption of police juvenile liaison by the Liverpool police.

In both cases the position is clear. There are *actual* not *potential* delinquencies.

Another variant meaning is where a child of under eight years of age behaves in such a way as would have made him liable for official action if he had been over eight. (The 1963 raising of the 'age of criminal responsibility' from eight to ten years of age in England and Wales has not been adopted in Scotland.)

There is a special operational reason for clearing up this whole matter. By not being precise about 'potential delinquents', we may be overlooking a possible useful check on the development of police-public relations. An objective of police juvenile liaison, and of similar schemes designed to put the police in touch with those sectors of the public where child delinquency is rife, is to get their cooperation by demonstrating that the policeman is not always out to get little Johnny into court and into the 'nick'. One indication that this object is being achieved would be evidence that people in these vulnerable sectors are becoming increasingly willing to invite the police to help them. An increase in the proportion of 'potential delinquents' in the total intake would provide such evidence. The Liverpool scheme provides an example; its reports show a steady increase in the 'potential' section year after year. It may be that Liverpool adopts no very precise definition of the 'potential delinquent'; but even so the figures suggest that the scheme has helped to promote better cooperation between the police and this special public.

SOURCES OF REFERRAL

What is wanted here is of course a regular reporting year by year not only of 'potential delinquents', but of all those cases in which the police are called in by someone close to the child—parent or school-teacher — or by a householder or shopkeeper who would not normally complain *because* it

might mean a court appearance, but who readily notifies the police where a juvenile liaison scheme is known to exist. If these non-police sources of referral could be clearly separated out and reported in a consistent manner from year to year this would provide a fairly reliable barometer of the ups and downs of police—public relations.

Unhappily no such precise method of reporting is operated in any of the schemes studied by the research team. Current practice in the Scottish schemes, with possibly one or two exceptions, is to record the great majority of cases as having the chief constable as their source of referral, including those cases where shopkeepers or schoolmasters are the actual source of referral, and have drawn the attention of the police to the case with the object of having it dealt with by the JLO. There are various points in favour of this procedure. One is that it causes the police juvenile liaison method to be more identified with the police system as a whole, and ensures that police juvenile liaison will be regarded more sympathetically by the ordinary policeman if the reporting procedures are the same for liaison cases as for ordinary cases. There is also a strong feeling that the JLO should make no preliminary investigations in response to requests of shopkeepers, etc., just in case the matter in question turns out to be unsuitable for liaison procedure and might necessitate prosecution. If it involved prosecution the Scottish JLO would prefer not to be directly concerned for he sees his role as falling outside the orbit of court procedure, and prefers to avoid situations which will call for his appearance in court.

These are strong points. But the net result of holding to them is that the police forces concerned are depriving themselves of what might be a fairly precise measuring instrument of their effectiveness in the field of public relations.

NOTIFICATION OF PARENTS

A third main topic was that concerning the method of notifying the parents to attend at the police office when police juvenile liaison was being contemplated for their offspring. The existing note calling the parents to the police office is brief and uninformative. The question arose as to whether it would not be better to use a fuller and more courteous form of words, as had formerly been the practice in one district. This suggestion was far from popular. The case for no change has been forcibly argued in a subsequent comment from one of the districts. Under the stark heading — 'Citation of the accused to the Police Office' — the point is made that the citation may be terse, but it must be faced that both parents and accused

are well aware of the offence committed (or alleged to have been committed), for the reporting officer must have interviewed them at least once during the initial inquiries. 'To right-thinking parents this method of requesting attendance is surely not *infra dig*, as they are fully aware of the wrong-doing of their offspring, and their course of action is either to comply with the invitation and discuss the matter with the JLO, or to reject the invitation *and so elect to go to court*' (italics ours).

A second area reports: 'The position here is that two are for leaving the form as it stands and two for a less peremptory letter. Those against felt that they did not wish to destroy the atmosphere which the present notice helped to create: namely that austere authority which was advisable for what was after all, a stern occasion.' The meeting to which this austere note is a virtual summons is of course that meeting at which the parents have the situation explained to them and are invited to accept supervision of their offspring by the JLO, and to guarantee cooperation with the JLO.

As the first quotation above indicates, the general practice during this interview is to present JLO supervision as an alternative to court process. It is indeed a doubtful point as to how far this is ever made entirely explicit; but it appears in most districts to be generally understood that if police juvenile liaison is refused the child is liable to be sent to court.

This may not be too important in practice; the number of occasions on which police juvenile liaison has been refused in all the Scottish areas over a number of years can be counted on the fingers of two hands. But an extremely interesting point of principle is raised. A striking feature of the Longformacus discussions was that the JLOs became increasingly inclined to look back to a particular White Paper as an authority and precedent for their deliberations about the future of police juvenile liaison. This is the 1945 Scottish White Paper on *Police Warnings*. Although this paper, in line with all similar documents concerned with permissive or non-mandatory activities, refrains from being specific on many points of procedure, it does indicate the general intention and spirit which the authorities of that time expected to be manifested in the practice of police warnings. And that spirit is not exactly favourable to the majority view just quoted. The 1945 White Paper makes it quite clear that parents should be invited, and not ordered, to attend at the police station. No threat of court action should be implied: the word 'court' is not to be used. In so far, therefore, as the working rules governing police juvenile liaison derive from this White Paper on police warnings — a principle increasingly invoked as the course went on — it would seem that there is a case for review of the present police juvenile liaison method of bringing parents to the police office, and of the implied sanction of court process.

It should be observed here that while the brevity of the note or virtual

summons may be out of line with the views expressed in the 1945 White Paper, it is not in conflict with current police warnings practice; indeed we believe that the note used for juvenile liaison purposes is the same as that already being used for police warnings in the six districts; and it is probable that the same note is in use in the bulk of Scottish police districts which practice police warnings only. But the question remains open. It is possible indeed to argue that while the barest possible intimation to attend is suitable for police warnings, the advice of the 1945 White Paper might be taken in the special circumstances of police juvenile liaison.

POLICE JUVENILE LIAISON AND POLICE WARNINGS

The point just discussed is only one example of the exact relation of police juvenile liaison to police warnings. By definition police juvenile liaison is an extension or development of police warning — it simply adds supervision to the warning or caution. But it involves far more police activity; and there are many other differences. Discussion on the course therefore kept on coming back to the question of what is new in police juvenile liaison as compared with the older-established practice; and the following is a clarification rather than a report of the Longformacus attempts to grapple with these points.

In the first place, as we have seen, police juvenile liaison takes on the 'potential delinquent' — i.e., a child who has committed no offence. A warning or caution can only be given when an offence has been committed. For the same reason a warning cannot be given to a child of under eight years of age. The police juvenile liaison system is not so restricted.

Thirdly the type of case for which police juvenile liaison was brought into operation is decidedly less trivial than that usually dealt with by police warnings (the Appendix to the 1945 White Paper suggests that offences like street football are suitable for police warnings whereas thefts should be taken to court). This is shown by the figures. Class VII offences take up 70 to 80 per cent of the total of police warnings in the two districts we have studied in detail — Greenock and Stirling-and-Clackmannan; whereas about 80 per cent of liaison cases fall technically within Classes I to VI — mostly thefts, with a small proportion of petty housebreakings.

About the only point that police juvenile liaison and police warnings have in common is that they normally take on only offenders who have not previously appeared in court. One of the main ideas brought out at Longformacus was the proposition that police juvenile liaison should not be so restricted, but should take on certain categories of offender who

have a previous court appearance. This is treated in some detail in the following sections.

EVALUATION

It may well turn out, as we have already noted, that the basic evaluation of police juvenile liaison, its main justification, will be its effect on police-public relations. But this will become manifest only after a considerable period; and in any case there exists at present only one useful method of checking it statistically, a method which is not available in Scotland.

The question of what to evaluate – what the new scheme could be *measurably* observed to be doing *from the moment it started* – was tentatively indicated by the initial Greenock study, which showed that the Greenock scheme was having certain immediate and beneficial results *on the working of the juvenile court*. The new scheme appeared to do three things. It relieved the court of a sizeable proportion of its cases – the *reducing effect*. It took away from the court a type of case which the court had hitherto handled not very well, or at least with difficulty – the *sifting effect*. Finally juvenile liaison could be shown to have better results, in terms of reconviction rates, than the court had achieved with the type of case now taken over – the *improving effect*.

The tentative findings of the continuing evaluation study are as follows:

1. It appears that the effects observed in Greenock in 1956 onwards are being repeated by and large in the areas which began police juvenile liaison in 1960 and after. The actual work of verification is difficult given the fact that police statistics, like most other operational statistics, are put together for administrative not research purposes. But there are some firm conclusions. The 'reducing effect' is clearly visible in Stirling-and-Clackmannan, Kilmarnock and Perth. The 'sifting effect' is clearly visible in Stirling-and-Clackmannan – the only post-1960 district so far in which it has been possible to secure the requisite breakdown of court appearances into first and non-first offenders.

In each case there are interesting variations from the Greenock 1956–60 pattern; but the main indications are that that pattern is being repeated and to that extent verified by the newer areas.

2. It appeared that the Greenock 1956–60 pattern – Greenock Mark I – has altered considerably in the 1960–65 period – Greenock Mark II. The reducing effect and the sifting effect so clearly marked in the earlier period have disappeared.

This, which might be entitled the 'flash-in-the-pan' effect, was a

facer. But a closer analysis of the data suggests that this 'flash-in-the-pan' impression is itself an illusion.

3. This closer study demonstrated that police juvenile liaison was continuing to act as a reducing mechanism on the court intake but that this reducing effect was being masked and to a large extent nullified by a major change in the composition of the total population of delinquents.
4. The disappearance of the sifting effect is a fact. Police juvenile liaison is no longer acting as a sifting mechanism on the court intake of first offenders. But this is traceable to an apparent change in the sentencing practice of the juvenile court in the years since 1960.
5. This hypothesis of a change in court sentencing practice is supported by the intensification of the *improving effect* in Greenock in the second five years of the juvenile liaison scheme.

The improving effect requires for its calculation an exact follow-up over a number of years of court first offenders as well as juvenile liaison cases, and this has not so far been possible in areas other than Greenock. In Greenock it appears that the improving effect — the rate by which the new method *improves on* the court performance, is much greater in the years after 1960 than in the years before. The practical implications of this change are spelt out below.

6. The sixth and final tentative finding of the study was discussed in a highly practical spirit in the closing stages of the Longformacus course. It is that police juvenile liaison can continue to perform its special and valuable function only if the rules and conditions which govern its operation — and which were taken over unexamined from the older police warnings system — are revised and adapted to the changing needs of the changing delinquency situation.

These findings are briefly demonstrated in the following sections.

Greenock confirmed. The original Greenock model — Greenock Mark I — was admirably simple. Consider first the reducing effect. In the four years before the introduction of police juvenile liaison — 1952–55 — three-quarters of the total juvenile intake was dealt with by court appearance and the remaining quarter was given the sole non-court mode of disposal then available, namely police warning. In the four years following the introduction of police juvenile liaison — 1956–59 — the court allocation came down to one-half. Police warnings got one-quarter as before, and the remaining quarter, which formerly went to court, was taken over by the new method.*

* The figures are given in the first part of Table 25.2. See also J. A. Mack, 'Police juvenile liaison schemes', *British Journal of Criminology*, 4, 361–75.

Since these calculations are made on figures available in all annual police reports it was possible to repeat them in the case of the three Scottish districts which adopted the new method in 1960 and 1962. (The two latest recruits have not had a long enough run to be included.)

Stirling-and-Clackmannan. Here police warnings were introduced for the first time along with police juvenile liaison in 1960. The years selected for comparison in this county are 1959 and 1963. In 1959 the total juvenile intake of 913 went to court. In 1963, the total juvenile intake was 1 182. Of these 594 went to court, 396 were given police warnings and 192 got juvenile liaison supervision. This repeats the Greenock result as regards the court and non-court quotas, *being* almost exactly half and half. *Inside* the non-court quota police warnings get two-thirds and juvenile liaison the remaining third. Thus the new method gets one in six of the total juvenile intake, as against one in four in Greenock.

Kilmarnock began the new system in 1962. In the years before 1962 five-sixths of the total intake went to court and one-sixth got a police warning. After 1962 the distribution is two-thirds to court and one-third to non-court disposal. *Inside* the non-court quota police warnings usually get two-thirds and juvenile liaison one-third, but this is evening out: in the last recorded year (1966) the allocation is half and half. This means that juvenile liaison is taking one in six of the total juvenile disposals as in Stirling.

Perth City began in 1962, and in 1965, when the city and county forces were amalgamated, police juvenile liaison was formally extended to the county area (i.e., Perthshire but not Kinross County). It is possible that such liaison work as is being done is still mostly concentrated in the city area. Police warnings had lapsed in 1959 but were reintroduced in 1962.

Here the indications are of a decline in the non-court quota, from one in three to one in four of the total, comparing 1963 and 1966. There are also indications of a decline in the police juvenile allocation *inside* the non-court quota, so that the new method is in recent years taking on only one in sixteen of the total intake; moreover it is declining in absolute figures. But this is probably a result of amalgamation, which here as elsewhere upsets statistical continuity for a time. It is clear that the Greenock Mark I reducing effect has been repeated, with notable variations, in the two post-1960 areas which provide comparable data: and has been to that extent confirmed. The variations provide some useful operational suggestions.

There is not much to be inferred from the lesser allocation to non-court disposals in Kilmarnock as compared with the two older police juvenile liaison areas: it is probably a matter of local differences. The changed distribution *within* the non-court allocation is more revealing. The main fact here is that the three post-1960 areas make more use of police warnings than did Greenock. This raises three possibilities:

1. There is no problem; it just so happens that the cases coming forward are in fact divided between the two categories — appropriate to police warnings or to juvenile liaison respectively — in the proportions recorded.
2. It is a result of scarce manpower. More cases could be put on supervision if there was more JLO time. But a police warning takes less time, and so the risk is taken.
3. Police warnings are more acceptable to police opinion, which is comparatively indifferent if not hostile to the juvenile liaison idea. Even those forces which developed the new method with vigour may be inclined to soft pedal on it.

The truth may lie between the two latter hypotheses. One might attempt a statistical check on the first. This would involve a follow-up of comparative reconviction rates. If police warnings were scoring the same or a lower 'success rate' than police juvenile liaison, it could be inferred that the former method was being given an excessive proportion of unsuitable cases. The present study is attempting a follow-up of police warnings, but has so far been held up by recording difficulties.

The sifting effect repeated

The gist of the sifting effect is that the pattern of court disposals changes after the introduction of police juvenile liaison, showing a marked decrease in the proportion of offenders released (i.e., proceedings dropped, absolute discharge and admonition) — or released and fined — and a corresponding inference drawn is that the new method takes away the more lightweight cases and so allows the court to concentrate on a case load more appropriate to its methods because more serious on the average.

The following table compares the original Greenock Mark I sifting effect with the Stirling picture. Since police juvenile liaison is limited to first offenders by rule, and since as a matter of fact the cases it gets are usually minor crimes, its precise effect on the court intake is best calculated by analysing the disposals of those appearing for the first time and on a criminal charge.

Table 25.1 *Court disposals of first offenders – crimes before and after PJL*

	Total	Release	Fine	Probation	Detention
<i>1. Greenock</i>					
Before (1954–55)	171	111 (65%)	22 (13%)	36 (21%)	2 (1%)
After (1957–58)	99	47 (47%)	1 (1%)	46 (46%)	5 (5%)
<i>2. Stirling-and-Clackmannan</i>					
Before (1959)	190	71 (37%)	80 (42%)	35 (18%)	4 (2%)
After (1963)	189	50 (26%)	56 (30%)	62 (33%)	21 (11%)

In *Greenock* the proportion of releases come down from 65 per cent to 47 per cent: and of fines from 13 per cent to 1 per cent. The probation quota goes up from 21 per cent to 46 per cent – and detentions rise from 1 per cent to 5 per cent; this suggests the rise in average level of 'seriousness' mentioned above.

The Stirling variations from the Greenock pattern are of interest. The Stirling courts have a distinct preference for fining first offenders as against discharging or admonishing them (42 per cent fined and 37 per cent discharged, admonished, etc., before police juvenile liaison: 30 per cent fined and 26 per cent discharged, admonished, etc., after). Also notable is the big swing in Stirling towards detention in the later period. Indeed the sending away from home of no less than 11 per cent of first offenders (and 30 per cent of all offenders!) is quite remarkable.

But discrepancies of this kind are common form; it is a habit of British juvenile courts to vary considerably from each other, and from themselves at different times, in their sentencing practice.* The really impressive thing about the Stirling figures is their broad similarities with Greenock. In both areas the quota released or fined, originally well over three-quarters of the total, went down considerably, to just under a half in Greenock, and just over half in Stirling. In both areas the use of probation has doubled. The sifting effect is as clear in Stirling as in Greenock.

The other districts have still to be examined, since it has not been possible to break down their juvenile court disposals into first and non-first offenders as required for the precise calculation of the sifting effect.

* The detentions proportion in Stirling-and-Clackmannan juvenile courts has come down considerably.

It is not to be expected that the same result will be uniformly and consistently verified in every district attempting the new method. But the majority of courts may be expected to show a broad internal consistency over a period. It is a fair prediction that if a large number of districts were to undertake PJL the bulk of them would register the same results by and large as in Greenock and Stirling; namely, a transfer from court to police juvenile liaison disposal of a large fraction of the more lightweight cases.

Greenock since 1960. The indications so far are that police juvenile liaison can be expected to produce its beneficial effects on the work of the court at least in the first few years of operation. But this may be simply the result of the keenness and special effort which goes into a new enterprise. It is a familiar administrative phenomenon that an initially valuable innovation may lose its force and effectiveness when it loses its freshness, or when it is extended right through the service in question. The results of the second five years of the original Greenock scheme were therefore a matter of special interest. And these results were *prima facie* negative: the reducing and sifting effects had both vanished. But the obvious conclusion — that the virtue had gone out of the new scheme — was not supported by the further analysis of the data which we give below.

The reducing effect

Table 25.2 demonstrates the disappearance of the reducing effect in the latest period recorded.

Table 25.2 *Greenock — first and second five-year periods compared as to proportion of court and non-court disposals*

	Court	(Annual averages)		Total intake
		PW	PJL	
1952–55 (before PJL)	517 (76%)	161 (24%)	—	678 (100%)
1956–59 (PJL Mark I)		137 (28%)	114 (23%)	
	265 (51%)	253 (49%)		518 (100%)
1961–65 (PJL Mark II)		138 (18%)	95 (13%)	
	517 (69%)	233 (31%)		750 (100%)

The first effect of the liaison method was to reduce the proportion of the total intake sent to court from three-quarters to a half. But in the years after 1960 the proportion is going back to the three-quarters. Moreover the increase in the court quota is largely at the expense of police juvenile liaison. The allocation to police warnings is down from 25 per cent to 18 per cent of the total intake; that of juvenile liaison is down from 23 per cent to 13 per cent and in 1966, the latest recorded year, it is 10 per cent: the trend is downward.

However this does not necessarily mean that police juvenile liaison is going into disuse. It may be a side-effect of the method of calculation we have so far adopted and which assesses the reducing effect on the *total* intake of offenders. The value of this way of working is that it makes it possible for the police forces concerned to check the effect for themselves, using their own police statistics as normally published. But it involves a certain degree of imprecision. Police juvenile liaison affects the total intake indirectly: its direct impact is on those cases only which have not appeared in court before. There are other special exclusions, but this is the main one. And as it happens the proportion of 'first appearers' in the total intake has gone down considerably. In 1956-59 it was on an annual average 273 out of a total intake of 516 — or 53 per cent; in 1961-65 it was 306 out of 750 or 40 per cent. In other words the increase in the total intake is almost entirely made up of people who have offended already. This cuts down considerably the quota of cases coming forward in which the chief constable or his deputy has discretion to allocate either to court or to non-court disposal. Table 25.3 gives the allocation to the different modes of disposal in terms of the real choice open to the allocators:

Table 25.3 *Greenock — annual averages*

	Court	PW	Non-court	PJL	Total intake
1956-60		127 (46%)		111 (41%)	
	35 (13%)	238 (87%)			273 (100%)
1961-65		138 (46%)		95 (32%)	
	68 (22%)	233 (78%)			301 (100%)

This changes the picture considerably. The non-court quota has gone down, but by only nine points — from 87 per cent to 78 per cent. Inside the non-court quota the proportion going to police juvenile liaison is down by the same nine points. In other words the court gain is entirely at the expense of police juvenile liaison. The police warnings quota stays put at 46 per cent. This suggests that Greenock like the other districts and probably for the same reasons, is showing a moderate bias in favour of police warnings. But the main point of this closer analysis is clear. The disappearance of the former reducing effect on the total intake is due to the fact that the bulk of the increase in the total intake in the years since 1960 is composed of those offenders whom police juvenile liaison is debarred from touching by its present rules and conditions of working. The new method of operation continues to be a great success, but the patient, in this case the juvenile court, has developed new complications.

The sifting effect

The disappearance of the sifting effect is clearly shown in Table 25.4:

Table 25.4 *Greenock Juvenile Court disposals of first offenders: crimes before and after PJJ, (1) First five years, (2) Second five years*

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Release</i>	<i>Fine</i>	<i>Probation</i>	<i>Detention</i>
1954-55	171	111 (65%)	22 (13%)	36 (21%)	2 (1%)
1. 1957-58	99	47 (47%)	1 (1%)	46 (46%)	5 (5%)
2. 1963-64	228	156 (68%)	24 (11%)	47 (21%)	1 (-%)

The immediate effect of police juvenile liaison in Greenock court disposal was as we have seen to bring down releases from 65 per cent to 47 per cent and to increase the use of probation from 21 per cent to 46 per cent of the total. But in the post-1960 years — 1963-64 aggregated are the years reviewed — the quota released is up as far as 68 per cent and the proportion put on probation is back to its exact previous figure of 21 per cent. The table is already calculated in terms of first offenders only, crimes only — the precise sector of court disposals on which the new method acts directly — so that there is no statistical alibi. The sifting effect has undoubtedly disappeared.

But we need not jump to the conclusion that police juvenile liaison has lost its bite. There is the alternative possibility that the court may have gone off course. The main assumption underlying the sifting effect calculation is that the court should maintain a reasonable consistency in its sentencing practice throughout the period under review. A practical criterion of efficiency in business management is that those managers survive who are more right than wrong in say six decisions out of ten; below that figure they are liable to be removed. One would not require judges to improve on this modest performance in their decisions as to disposal; indeed they may well do worse, given the nature of the cases coming before them. What might reasonably be required of them is that they should not so operate as to produce a marked swing in court effectiveness, particularly a downward swing, over a period of some years.

There is evidence, detailed in the following section, that some such decline in court effectiveness did happen in Greenock in the post-1960 years.

The improving effect

Police juvenile liaison should not only *reduce* the burden on the court by *sifting* out a proportion of the cases usually released by the court: it should also, if the exercise is to have any point, *improve* on the court performance with this grade of case. The demonstration that this actually happened in Greenock is given in the following table:

Table 25.5 *Greenock JLO cases compared with court disposals of first offenders as regards proportion of non-repeaters — years before 1960*

	<i>Yr of entry</i> (%)	<i>2nd yr</i> (%)	<i>At end of</i> <i>3rd yr</i> (%)	<i>4th yr</i> (%)	<i>5th yr</i> (%)
Greenock JLO: annual averages 1956–60	94	84	76	72	67
Glasgow Juvenile Court: first offenders — 1946	85	76	69	64	60
Greenock Juvenile Court: first offenders — 1954	89	74	67	62	55

Greenock police juvenile liaison performance in terms of 'success-rates' up to 1960 is consistently better than that of Glasgow Juvenile Court first offenders in 1946–50 or Greenock Juvenile Court first offenders in

1954-58. It is not quite a fair comparison, since strictly speaking the PJJ performance should have been matched against only those court first offenders *who were released*. As far as Glasgow is concerned, however, we know that the court average for all modes of disposal is roughly equivalent to its performance for each single mode, since the scatter from the average for the several disposals is narrow. The general inference from the table is that the police juvenile liaison method is superior in effectiveness to that of court disposal, in relation to that particular grade of court case which the new method sifts out.

The results of the continuing inquiry into Greenock Mark II in respect of comparative success rates are listed below. The followup of the 1960 intake is seven years; for 1961 six years; for 1962 five years; and so on. This is of course the maximum period at risk. Strictly speaking only the juvenile liaison intake was followed up to the end of 1966; the court intake was followed up only to mid-1966: so that the results are slightly biased in favour of the court.

These figures must of course be handled with caution — especially in view of the small numerical totals in question — but a few points can be made, if only to exemplify the inferences which can be drawn from this kind of statistical evaluation.

The main point is that police juvenile liaison is much too far ahead of the court, and of court releases in particular, on these results. The margin of difference is so great as to suggest that the court is missing on several cylinders. The figures for probation, small as they are, point the same way: the very small quota put on probation in these years probably contained too large a proportion of very high risks. The indications are that our hypothesis given above about the court's performance is sound: and that far too many youngsters are being discharged or admonished who ought to be disposed of in some other way, preferably by some form of supervision.

The drawback of this post-1960 comparison is of course that the two categories being compared, police juvenile liaison cases and court releases, are both drawn from the same total juvenile intake. It could be argued that if the allocation process is doing its job properly the milder cases will be going to juvenile liaison and the more difficult cases to court. But we have had reason to argue above that manpower and other pressures have already unduly limited the allocation to police juvenile liaison in recent years in Greenock. It is probable that a number of cases have gone to police warnings which would be better dealt with by supervision: and it is equally probable on these figures that a number of cases which ought to have been allocated to police juvenile liaison have been channelled to the court. It can at least be tentatively concluded that if the disappearance of the sifting effect in the post-1960 period in Greenock is evidence that the

Table 25.6 *Greenock — comparative success-rates of police juvenile liaison and court disposals for 1960–64 inclusive: each annual entry following up to end of 1966*

	1960 INTAKE		
	Intake	'Successes'	% of 'successes'
(a) PJJ	130	68	<u>52</u>
(b) Court first offenders crimes only — by disposals			
All disposals	52	16	<u>31</u>
Release	25	9	<u>36</u>
Fine	7	2	<u>29</u>
Probation	20	5	<u>25</u>
Detention	—	—	—

	1961 INTAKE		
	Intake	'Successes'	% of 'successes'
(a) PJJ	86	54	<u>63</u>
(b) Court first offenders crimes only — by disposals			
All disposals	55	22	<u>40</u>
Release	25	10	<u>40</u>
Fine	8	4	<u>50</u>
Probation	22	8	<u>37</u>
Detention	—	—	—

	1962 INTAKE		
	Intake	'Successes'	% of 'successes'
(a) PJJ	108	86	<u>80</u>
(b) Court first offenders crimes only — by disposals			
All disposals	63	27	<u>43</u>
Release	31	13	<u>42</u>
Fine	9	6	<u>67</u>
Probation	23	8	<u>35</u>
Detention	—	—	—

	1963 INTAKE		
	Intake	'Successes'	% of 'successes'
(a) PJJ	109	67	<u>61</u>
(b) Court first offenders crimes only — by disposals			
All disposals	145	46	<u>32</u>
Release	97	36	<u>37</u>
Fine	10	1	<u>10</u>
Probation	37	9	<u>24</u>
Detention	1	0	<u>0</u>

Table 25.6 – *continued*

1964 INTAKE			
	Intake	'Successes'	% of 'successes'
(a) PJL	90	63	<u>70</u>
(b) Court first offenders crimes only – by disposals			
All disposals	85	47	<u>55</u>
Release	62	30	<u>48</u>
Fine	14	10	71
Probation	9	7	78
Detention	—	—	—

1960–64 SUCCESS RATES, percentages (the above tables summarised)					
	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
PJL	52	63	80	61	70
Court: all disposals	31	40	43	32	55
Court: release only	36	40	42	37	48

system as a whole is functioning badly, the source of the trouble is not to be looked for in the non-court sector.

DEVELOPMENT

The lesson of the Greenock Mark II figures is plain. Juvenile liaison has continued to function effectively within its range of 'eligible' cases, but the 'eligible' proportion has shrunk to such an extent that the new method is no longer producing its vital reducing effect on the burden carried by the court.

This might be regarded as an indication that the 'law of the situation' has decided against the liaison method. *Since* it is no longer producing its characteristic effects *therefore* it has lost its operational justification. But there are two considerable objections to this rather abrupt conclusion.

The first is one of principle: namely that the present juvenile liaison rules are incompatible with its proper functioning. The new method is a kind of social work first aid, comparable to the medical and surgical first aid which every police officer is trained to exercise. The essence of social work method, even in this first aid form, is that the decision as to what to do about a given case should be based on the nature of the case. If any

particular case is suitable for liaison supervision — i.e., if on the analysis given above it is assessed as too serious for a straight warning and too lightweight to be given proper attention by the court — it should be allocated to liaison supervision.

In the second place, it is clear from the Greenock Mark II experience that the existing definitions of 'eligibility' require many cases to go to court which the court has no option but to release.

These definitions do not include only those offenders who previously appeared in court. First offenders (i.e., offenders who have no previous court appearance) are also excluded if their offence is a technical house-breaking, or if they have already been on juvenile liaison. The comparative results listed above under the 'improving effect' (Table 25.6) would probably have been rather different if these two latter exclusions had not been made. Indeed the criticism of the court expressed above is probably over harsh. An analysis of court first offenders in the post-1960 years shows an increase in housebreaking cases and in 'already given liaison supervision' cases as compared with the earlier period. If these rules had been relaxed quite a number of cases would have gone to juvenile liaison and might well have fared better. Similarly a sizeable proportion of non-first offenders, who were in fact released and went on to offend again, would possibly have shown better results if given juvenile liaison. For the hard fact is that seen from below, *from the point of view of the offender and his family*, the experience of informal police supervision is more impressive than that of going to court and 'getting off'. The obvious moral is that if police juvenile liaison is to be accepted and developed on a wider scale the present definition of eligibility should be radically revised to allow the liaison method to apply to all cases for which it is suitable.

The big question is of course whether police juvenile liaison should be developed on a large scale. On the face of it the answer would seem to be an emphatic 'Yes'. Radical changes are planned in the whole system of provision for children in trouble, and particularly for offenders. In Scotland juvenile courts are about to be abolished and replaced by children's panels. In England and Wales it is proposed to deal informally, i.e., by non-court procedures, with a wide range of petty offenders. The Kilbrandon Report, on which the Scottish reforms are based, recommended that police warning and police juvenile liaison methods should be built into the new system in Scotland; and in the 1968 White Paper, *Children in Trouble*, is also broadly favourable to the inclusion of these methods of police work with juveniles in its proposals for England and Wales.

It would probably be premature to assume easy acceptance of these recommendations. Police reactions to the idea of a major development of

juvenile liaison are not easily predictable. Many police chiefs are quite clear that this is not police work, and that even if there is a case for it in principle it is impracticable in the present circumstances of scarce manpower. But change is in the air. The largest British force, the Metropolitan Police, is considering a big development in police work with juveniles, *including* juvenile liaison. If this takes shape it may well have a big impact on police strategy and on the future relations of the police with the developing social work services.

Social work reactions are even harder to elucidate. On the one hand there is a strong body of opinion which holds that even the most elementary diagnostic and assessment processes should be operated by qualified social workers: and *a fortiori* that any form of work with children and families, even at an elementary level, should be operated or very closely supervised by the local authority department responsible for social work. But these are traditional attitudes, reinforced by the still predominantly clinical and individual emphasis in social work training. Social workers are faced with new responsibilities, particularly administrative responsibilities, which will require a radical revision of traditional attitudes. Their main task is to bring together the personal social services and to raise the new comprehensive service to a higher level of sensitivity and of concern for individuals and families in need. A major part of that task will be to work out methods of cooperation with the wider range of public and social services — including the police, who are already and will continue to be the first contact with that specially vulnerable sector of individuals and families whose need for help is manifested in minor delinquency.

Rootless in the city: the young who need help

Noel Timms

The problem of homelessness amongst young people is on the increase in most modern cities. There can be no doubt that footloose teenagers are a high delinquency risk, but on more general humanitarian grounds some kind of special provision seems to be called for. Professor Noel Timms describes one such project in the Soho district of London.

'At Christmas some friends I know took me to a club in Soho. It is a gay club for boys and girls (queers and lesbians). I didn't know much about these people at that time, and it seemed very strange to me — boys dressed as girls and girls dressed as boys. Now my outlook on this has completely changed. I am going with another woman myself. I will never forget the night I first met her. Even up until that night I didn't think that I could ever go with another woman. I know she thinks that the reason I was first attracted to her was because I felt sorry for her because she was a junkie, and not in a very good state. But this is completely untrue. When we were first going together it didn't worry me so much about her fixing, but when later on it was obvious that I was getting very fond of her it began to worry me very much knowing that other people, very close friends of hers, had died through the same thing that she was doing. All my thoughts were of how to get her off it.

'Just after Christmas I took some friends home to my flat. They had nowhere to go to so I said I would put them up for the night. The next morning my landlord happened to come to empty my meters, and of course he saw my friends all sprawled out over my living-room floor. He immediately told me to move. *After that everything became havoc.* I was still working in the day and going down the club at night, which obviously made me thoroughly exhausted. You are not allowed to go to sleep in the

club, or you are thrown out, so I had to do something. I was offered some pills one night, so I thought I would take them. It was only three blues. I thought that it wouldn't do much for me but I suppose being the first time I had taken them, it had quite an effect on me. I liked this effect, so I carried on taking them; at one time I was very bad, taking any amount of these pills. I was getting very thin and was on my way to having a breakdown.

'So for my own sake I had to cut down. All this time for weeks I had nowhere to go. Two girls I knew were in the same position as myself. They had nowhere to go either. Somehow they got to know a psychiatric social worker, who had a centre in London. It was for girls in our position. Well, one day they took me to this centre. We could eat, sleep and wash and dress there. I thought it was too good to be true. Anyway, the social worker helped me a great deal. I don't know what I would have done if it wasn't for her.'

This extract from an autobiographical account of a nineteen-year-old girl describes problems of homelessness, drifting, drugs and sexual deviance which she shares with unknown numbers of others — male as well as female — living in our cities. It refers also to an experimental service (a centre started by the psychiatric social worker). This article attempts to raise and answer two questions: what kinds of problem did the girls bring to the centre, and why was a new service necessary?

The centre — situated in a part of north London scheduled for redevelopment — consisted of two large rooms (one furnished as a kitchen and the other as a sitting room), a small office and toilet facilities. It was devised on informal lines, as a kind of home. It was meant to provide a base in which relationships might be developed with materially and psychologically unsettled girls. The emphasis was on providing an undemanding and accepting environment where a range of communication — both verbal and non-verbal — was possible.

The main characteristics of the people coming to the centre, which was open between November 1965 and June 1967, can be summarised quite quickly. The psychiatric social worker came into contact with a total of fifty-two young people: thirty-eight girls and fourteen boys. The terms of reference of the project referred only to girls and so no intensive work was undertaken with boys. About half the girls were eighteen or under, the rest between nineteen and twenty-one. They came from many different parts of England, but about half of them were Londoners or had families who had moved into the London area.

Twenty-three of the girls believed themselves to be lesbian; eight had illegitimate children or were pregnant when first seen at the centre; all save one admitted that they had taken drugs, and four were taking heroin when

seen at the centre. A quarter of the girls were or believed themselves to be illegitimate. Fourteen were known to be in contact with a social worker, though only nine of them were referred from social agencies, and four of the girls had previously been in the care of a children's department.

Three elements in this general picture require consideration. First, most girls had more than one problem, and their present predicament could not be understood outside the cumulative history of distress which characterised many of them. Take, for example, the case of Geraldine, or Gerry as she preferred to be called.

She arrived at the centre one night dressed like a boy, and obviously under the influence of drugs. Over a period she told the worker about her past life. Gerry was eighteen years old — an illegitimate child whose mother had subsequently married. She was indifferent to her stepfather, and very unsure in her relationship with her mother — an emotionally disturbed woman. Her mother was at one time known to a probation officer who had tried unsuccessfully to get her to see a psychiatrist.

Gerry was an intelligent girl who had been to grammar school, but she left because she became aware that she felt very different to the other girls. She told her mother that she felt no attraction at all for boys, and her mother reacted with anger and horror. Gerry was convinced that she had come to accept herself as she was, but many of her difficulties arose from the disapproval of other people. She felt that other people considered her 'dirty', and she connected her drug-taking with the attempt to deal with them. It was a way of 'keeping your end up against all the people who are normal, and I'd go mad if I just had to take what they said and how they felt'.

Secondly, the girls who came to the centre had few if any satisfying relationships which could anchor them to society. The case of Clare is typical of the movement towards, and sudden recoil from, relationships which are found to offer no final solution to life's problems.

Clare announced one day at the centre that she had by chance met a boy whom she had known at school. A month later she became engaged. Shortly afterwards her behaviour at the centre changed markedly, and she became extremely demanding and unable to see that she contributed at all to any of the quarrels and disagreements that arose. She confided in the worker that she was afraid of taking her own life because of the responsibilities of marriage. She began quarrelling with her fiancé, but agreed to his plan to leave London and look for better paid work in the provinces.

He moved from London ahead of Clare, and she produced various excuses for her delay in following him. She began to form a close attachment to another girl at the centre to whom she became quite helpful. Suddenly she decided to join her fiancé, but soon returned to London,

explaining that she had taken an overdose of drugs on the train, but had vomited it up before it could take effect. She considered that her break with her fiancé was final, but within a few weeks they were reunited, and married. The marriage lasted six weeks.

Thirdly – and here we begin to see why the centre was necessary – the girls were or had been in touch with one or more of the social services, but the help provided had been insufficient. One of the girls had been under the care of four successive probation officers in the course of a year. Others had been in and out of mental hospitals, but neither the girls nor the staff had much confidence in the therapeutic effects of this experience.

As a doctor at one of the hospitals remarked: 'The social workers at this hospital cannot do anything for these young people who have no fixed address, and who nearly always discharge themselves to resume their unsettled way of life. We can only help those with whom it is possible to have a plan of procedure.'

It is perhaps the 'orderliness' of social service organisation that presents one of the greatest barriers between these young people and the help they so urgently require. The contrast between the usual social service approach and that adopted by the centre is illustrated in the case of Mary, a girl suffering from a heart condition and attending fitfully an out-patient clinic.

The worker at the centre sent Mary to the hospital, expecting that she would be admitted because she had been frequenting all-night clubs for some time and had failed to follow medical treatment. She was not admitted, but referred to the medical social worker who discussed with her plans for the immediate future. Mary said that she would simply return to the centre and explain the situation to the worker. The medical social worker expressed some surprise; would Mary be able to see the worker again that day, had she an appointment? The reply that Mary gave was: 'You don't have to have an appointment. You just go.'

It was to provide a place to which young people could feel 'they just went' that the centre was started. The idea grew out of an earlier scheme to provide specially selected lodgings for girls leaving various kinds of institution who had no settled home and no supporting network of friends and relatives. This project proved unsuccessful: the role of 'landlady' was insufficiently clarified and the girls were unable to settle to the normal kind of life assumed by the scheme.

The centre in contrast, made no demands on the girls, and staff took no initiative in centring any discussion on the problems facing the girls. It was based on the assumption that a 'home' without any trace of formality, and with an emphasis on acceptance, would provide the kind of environment

within which the girls might begin to form relationships with staff concerned for them and interested in maintaining contact, no matter where the girls might go as a result of different kinds of trouble.

The centre had contact with a comparatively small number of girls, and it can claim no spectacular success in rehabilitating any of them. Its programme imposed a very heavy burden on the small staff employed (a psychiatric social worker, her secretary, some community service volunteers), and the whole venture, financed by a trust, was costly. Yet the lodgings scheme and the centre should not be ignored as inconsequential because they cannot be acclaimed as successful. Their creation and demise help us to develop a number of considerations. Some of these are of a general nature and some of them are more specific.

The two projects underline the importance of the arrangements by which we try to make social service help available. In the case of some groups of the population (the group we have been briefly examining is one, but there are others), the way in which services are organised and the kinds of assumption built into their actual administration effectively prevent social worker and client from meeting. They thus fail to get close enough to test out to the satisfaction of either worker or client whether the central therapeutic intent of the service actually works.

More specifically the projects confirmed, by the care and study of these young girls, that there exists within our society numbers of young people incapable of living a normal human life. Before the lodgings scheme and the centre, the special features of their plight were hidden; social workers could not contain, and hence could not describe, these elusive clients. The centre succeeded in doing just this. It offered continuity of care and more long-term interest than the girls had previously received. The centre has now closed, but we are left with the knowledge of the problem of young people who are 'rootless in the city'.

The experience of the centre raises two basic questions. Who will accept responsibility for these people? What are the next steps in planning provision suited to their needs?

We urgently require a long-term plan designed (a) to assess the extent of the problem and the nature of the difficulties; (b) to examine whether different kinds of centre can be set up (one providing care for both boys and girls, for example); (c) to assess the differential response to these and other innovations in care. One may feel somewhat oppressed by the 'youth problem' and sceptical of the experiments of social workers. But a society like ours in neglecting its young, neglects its future.

Intermediate treatment

Department of Health and Social Security

Although the actual term 'intermediate treatment' is not used in the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, it relates to new forms of treatment which have been developed under Part I of that Act. The expression itself originates in the White Paper, Children in Trouble, published in 1968, which played an important part in the official discussion leading up to the Act. The extract that follows is taken from Intermediate Treatment, a guide for the regional planning of new forms of treatment for children in trouble, which the Department of Health and Social Security, which has the statutory duty for carrying out this work, issued in 1972 to indicate the kind of facilities that might be incorporated in the new form of treatment.

APPROVED FACILITIES

From what has been said about the statutory powers, it will be evident that intermediate treatment should embrace the widest possible range of facilities. The only limitation is that in section 19(5) of the Act, which requires that the facilities should be 'approved, or of a kind approved by' the Secretary of State. This means that an intermediate treatment scheme may include facilities only if they (a) are of a kind falling within a general category approved by the Secretary of State for this purpose; or (b) have been individually approved by the Secretary of State. The provision for giving individual approvals is a reserve power, and is intended for facilities of an unusual kind which might, for instance, be suitable for a particular child in very special circumstances, but not for general inclusion in a scheme. It is intended that the great majority of facilities included in schemes should fall within one or more of general categories approved by the Secretary of State, and that occasions for individual approvals will be

rare. The terms of the general approval given by the Secretary of State for the purpose of section 19(5) are very wide, and cover the whole range of educational and recreational facilities commonly available within the community.

NEW RELATIONSHIPS, NEW INTERESTS

This last point is of fundamental importance to the basic aims of intermediate treatment. The object of the treatment will be to bring the child into contact with a different environment and to give him the opportunity of forming new personal relationships and developing new interests. To do this he may spend one or more relatively brief periods away from home, or take part in constructive activities of a social, educational or therapeutic nature. The purpose of the court in imposing an intermediate treatment requirement will have been to use the opportunity presented by intermediate treatment to enrich the child's environment and assist his development. The treatment available should therefore provide a means for broadening his experience in ways likely to be beneficial to his development as an individual and as a member of society; and the full benefits will only be gained if this broadening of experience sows the seeds of further development after the period of formal supervision under the court order has ended.

It is vital, therefore, that intermediate treatment should involve the child in the type of experiences and activities which are available in the community for other children. They may be personal activities for the child to undertake on his own, or shared activities which he engages in with others; they may involve the use of existing facilities within the community, or the development of new facilities; but they normally should be of a kind in which other children can also participate, and not confined to children under supervision through court orders. (*This does not rule out the provision of facilities specially to meet the need of intermediate treatment schemes: but it will still be desirable that new facilities provided primarily – or even exclusively – for this purpose should be of a kind in which children not under supervision might share.*)* In this way the child will be able to continue to participate in activities which have aroused his interest beyond the time when he is formally required to do so. It will be an important aim to secure the child's acceptance of his treatment, so that he does not resent it as something he has to undergo because a court has ordered it; and this aim is unlikely to be achieved if it involves activities which appear to him to set him apart from his contemporaries.

* My italics: JBM.

COOPERATION BETWEEN STATUTORY AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

To deploy effectively the resources available within the community for suitable forms of treatment, there will have to be early consultation and the fullest cooperation between the various local authority services and between statutory and voluntary agencies. Every form of treatment should involve supervision by a responsible adult whose contact with the child can form a valuable element in the treatment. A few voluntary organisations may not previously have had contact with children under supervision, and it will be worth while to discuss with them in detail the requirements of the intermediate treatment situation, in order fully to engage their sympathies for the children with whom they will have to deal. Some types of treatment will involve group activities, and will take place in clubs and societies, or in groups of other kinds. They may involve membership of organisations for the young which engage in a variety of activities, or of community service organisations. But there will be some children who may not be able to cope with groups or group activities, but whose need may rather be to develop some particular interest of an individual nature — perhaps an artistic interest or a hobby. Schemes will need to include provision for such children, and here there may be special scope for individual volunteers who are willing, for example, to give instruction to a few children in particular subjects. Again, there may be other children whose needs would best be met by group counselling or group therapy sessions.

DEVELOPMENT GROUP PROJECT

The Department of Health and Social Security is currently sponsoring a development project on intermediate treatment, with the cooperation of one local authority from each planning area. The object of the project is to draw on the ideas and experience of the participating authorities in their initial approach to the problems of intermediate treatment, and it is intended to publish an account of this shortly. This will describe the variety of approaches the authorities concerned have adopted, the difficulties they have encountered, and the ways in which they are tackling these. It is hoped that this pooling of the early experience of a number of authorities will be of use to planning committees and local authorities generally, and the report of the project will be circulated to supplement the suggestions in this memorandum.

FORM AND CONTENT OF SCHEME

Certain points are worth particular comment. First, there is no statutory requirement as to the form and content of intermediate treatment

schemes. Schemes may be presented in whatever form appears to the Regional Planning Committee to be most suitable and convenient. It does appear desirable, however, that there should be a degree of formality and standardisation in the way schemes are set out. After submission to the Secretary of State, they have to be circulated to courts and local authorities, who will need to be able to form from them an impression of the range of treatments available in each area; and they are also to be made available at local authority offices, for public inspection and for the provision of copies to members of the public. These requirements should be kept in mind, when the form of intermediate treatment schemes is under consideration.

SUPERVISION BY RESPONSIBLE PERSON

Second, it is an overriding requirement that, whatever form the treatment takes, it should involve the supervision of a responsible person — not necessarily the supervisor appointed by the court, but a person concerned with the particular form of treatment. This is laid down in the Secretary of State's approval and its importance lies not only in the need for proper care and control of the child, but also in the significance for him of developing satisfactory personal relationships with adults.

LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES, VOLUNTARY BODIES

Third, many of the facilities will be provided not by local authorities themselves, but by other authorities, bodies or persons. Under section 19(1) the committee is to make arrangements with 'such persons as it thinks fit', and this can include local authorities, local education authorities, other statutory bodies and services, and any responsible voluntary body or individual who is in a position, and is willing, to offer suitable facilities. So far as the public sector is concerned local education authorities in particular may be able to play an important part: but a great deal of the most suitable provision will lie outside the public sector, and many of the facilities included in schemes will be provided by voluntary bodies and individuals. A major part of the planning process in preparing intermediate treatment schemes will be the identification of non-statutory or voluntary agencies able and willing to provide facilities, and the negotiation of suitable arrangements with them.

USE BY MORE THAN ONE PLANNING AREA

Fourth, it is to be expected that many facilities will be used by more than one planning area, and committees should be prepared to consider facilities outside their own areas, and not confine their attention to those available locally. Some national organisations, for example, will probably be

willing to offer places on adventure or nature courses to children from all parts of the country, and it will be appropriate for these to find a place in the schemes for all planning areas, if committees choose to use them.

PROCEDURAL REQUIREMENTS AND LIMITATIONS

In general, it will be desirable that schemes should lay down, in relation to each facility, its availability and any restrictions on its use or procedures to secure admission. For example, some facilities may be suitable only for children of a particular age or sex; or it may be necessary to limit the numbers using a facility at any one time; or the person providing it may wish to retain control over admission. Subject to any such provisions in the scheme, the use of any facilities within a scheme will be a matter for consultation between the child's supervisor and the person providing the facility.

Intermediate treatment of the young offender

J. B. Mays

The concluding paper is a general commentary on the notion of intermediate treatment which the editor of this volume gave in the 17th Charles Russell Memorial Lecture in London in 1971. It shows how the idea of helping delinquent children by giving them special attention and support within their own immediate social environment, rather than removing them from home to distant and costly institutions, is the logical outcome of much youth service experience and of the settlement movement during the past 100 years. Discussion is deliberately limited to non-residential forms of treatment.

The idea of intervening constructively and creatively in the life of delinquent neighbourhoods and attempting, as it were, to rescue some of the affected children *in situ* is not a new one. In a sense the boys' club and settlement movements of the past 100 years have always had this as one of their aims; certainly, in the early years the notion of finding substitute outlets for youthful energies which might otherwise result in conflict with the law is one that such pioneers as Charles Russell wholeheartedly accepted. In *The Making of a Criminal* he laid down the broad sane lines for such a policy and attitude.

What is above all wanted in dealing with youthful offenders is more thought and interest, more sympathy and consideration, more reason and consistency. Try to relieve their troubles, make it easier for them to do right, endow them with health and strength and ability to work, teach them self-respect, encourage them, make them feel that you approach them, not in a spirit of repression and revenge that the present system reflects, but with kindly anxiety for their welfare. Then their numbers will appreciably decrease (Russell and Rigby, 1906, p. 226).

Although I had not much knowledge of Russell and his work at the time, I tried to do this very thing in a specially organised junior boys' club for the eight to thirteen year olds in the Liverpool dockland way back in the 1950s. The full account of this attempt which lasted for four years will be found in my book *On the Threshold of Delinquency* and in a much abbreviated form in an article in the *British Journal of Delinquency*.^{*} There is no time to go into this in any great detail tonight, but I would stress a number of what seem to me vital points which have a direct bearing on our subject.

I believe that our Dolphin Club experience is very relevant to the new intermediate non-residential treatment proposed by the new Act. This kind of project together with the more formal and less sustained experience of weekend attendance centres needs to be very carefully considered when planning new ventures along similar lines.

Moreover, in the early 1960s Basil Henriques raised the same issues and started up discussion about the feasibility of experimenting in this country with an English adaptation of the Boston (USA) Citizenship Scheme. I was privileged to be a member of a small group he brought together at NABC to explore that idea further and to prepare a memorandum for Home Office consideration. Hall Williams gives the outline of the scheme and what subsequently happened in his book *The English Penal System in Transition*. The gist of the Boston scheme involves boys between twelve and seventeen who are on probation being required to attend the centre for two hours after school on weekdays where a programme similar in many ways to the Dolphin Club is laid on by a well-qualified staff of case and group workers, supplemented by psychological and psychiatric help. The whole course covers some 120 hours in all, but contact with the probation officers is sustained afterwards. One interesting feature of the programme is the provision of remedial reading classes. Unfortunately, as Hall Williams relates, the idea 'fell on stony ground' and the advisory council on the treatment of offenders considered it inexpedient and possibly undesirable to be imitated in this country. I am sure in my own mind that the council was misguided and that a golden opportunity was missed. However, the revival in recent years of the concept of community work and of community participation in solving its own social problems, together with the new notion of 'intermediate treatment', has brought the idea back into the forefront of our thinking and this time the prospect looks much rosier.

For the remainder of my lecture I want to assume that intermediate treatment will incorporate something of the Boston Citizenship Centre and

^{*} See pp. 204-13.

some of the Dolphin Club and attendance centre experience in its initial phase.* I shall indulge in a pleasant pipe-dream, imagining myself in a position of power and influence to sway official opinion as the new legislation takes concrete form.

I am assuming that to begin with limited projects will be set up to try out various methods of dealing with young offenders. I would put in a most serious plea for genuinely independent research workers to be incorporated in such schemes *ab initio* to participate in the planning and to monitor progress and essay some objective assessment of the outcome. It is vital that the research element be not tacked on later as has unfortunately happened in at least one of the current community development projects. If anything, the research posts should be filled *before* any other members of the team are engaged.

I am also assuming that there will be a fairly high-powered individual in charge of the whole scheme, someone of the enthusiasm, integrity and stature of a Charles Russell, an Alexander Paterson or a Basil Henriques. Such people do exist — if they are diligently searched out — men of compassion for the delinquent and some firsthand experience of dealing with them and also of dealing with non-delinquent young people in their leisure time. What is important is that the projects should begin inspirationally rather than bureaucratically. Otherwise they may get inextricably enmeshed in regulations and red tape and dissipate their resources in unproductive administration. There must not be too many committees and too many organisers involved. To my mind, it is better to take the risks that arise from having too few people at the top rather than too many, and I would be happy to see power to develop these new treatment centres given to a small number of committed and creative individuals ultimately responsible, of course, to the appropriate government department but in the day to day management of affairs responsible to their own consciences and reliant upon their own inspirations.

Let us now assume that a new intermediate treatment unit is to be set up in a large town or medium sized city. As with the attendance centres I assume developments will proceed cautiously and that a few will utilise available resources to be the trend-setters and pioneers for those which are to follow.

What sort of a building will we be looking for and where will it be

* Winston Churchill when Home Secretary proposed to institute defaulters' drill to take place at evening after work was over for youths unable to pay fines inflicted by the courts in cases of rowdiness and boisterous conduct. These, although never set up, were the precursors of the attendance centres and show an interesting historical link with today's more sophisticated model of 'intermediate' treatment (see Russell, 1910, pp. 229–31).

situated? I want to make two to my mind vital points under this heading. First, where no suitable premises are available we should not fall into the error of trying to do the best we can with inadequate accommodation. This would jeopardise the whole enterprise from the start. We should either put up a purpose designed building or utilise an adequate existing institution or abandon the idea altogether. What I have in mind here is a modern well equipped school in the locality, a settlement or a community centre. I would also hope that existing youth clubs might offer the use of their premises and even participate actively in the treatment programme. That, however, is a matter that could only be decided locally by the club managers, the magistrates and the Home Office who would, I assume, give full financial and other kinds of support in such cases. Not everyone will agree with me here, of course, but to my mind so much depends on adequate accommodation that we simply cannot risk failure at the very beginning of the experiment. My second point is that the new centre, whether in purpose built or adapted premises, should be located in or comparatively near to the neighbourhoods from which it will draw the bulk of its clients. We have lost a great deal in the past by siting approved schools, borstals and boarding schools for the maladjusted in remote rural areas which are not only inaccessible for visitors but which offer an altogether alien environment for the inmates to come to terms with in a meaningful way. I want to see the new intermediate centres, like reception and aftercare hostels, located in familiar social and physical surroundings, and I want, if possible, for them to be looked on as neighbourhood institutions like the schools, the churches, the youth organisations and the health centres which are still for the most part unborn. They need to be linked to all the socially creative institutions that one hopes are already serving the area.

I have already suggested that a rich and varied programme catering for many different needs and interests is a *sine qua non*. This proviso has obvious consequences for the planning of the accommodation and for the recruitment of staff. There should be a high staff-member ratio for a number of reasons. First, to keep order and maintain adequate surveillance. Secondly, to provide the varied skills and expertise for the many physical, aesthetic and manual activities required and, thirdly, to furnish a wide range of personalities with whom the youngsters can establish personal relationships. I attach particular importance to this point since it is something which is not really possible at attendance centres even if the staffs were so inclined.

Experience in youth work and residential special schools suggest that many deprived and delinquent children are very much in need of significant adults in their lives to make up for the defects of their own family

background. The new intermediate treatment centres must strive to provide parent and elder brother surrogates and to do this means that there must be both enough time and the opportunity for them to get to know one another at the personal level. All my experience in youth work, whether with ordinary adolescents or with the delinquents and pre-delinquents of the Dolphin Club, leads me to the conclusion that the quality of leader-member and member-member relationships is of paramount importance in maintaining discipline, establishing tone and in promoting self-determination. No one official can do this single-handed. The warden or whatever he is to be called must be big enough not to want to hoard all credits to himself or to be jealous of others sharing and perhaps even exceeding his own influence with many of the youngsters attending the centre. Often it has been found that a voluntary worker in specific cases has exercised more influence over a difficult child than the trained professional. In a residential school, too, it could be that the cook or the gardener just 'click' with those very children who seem to be beyond the grasp of the educational staff, as David Wills (1945) for instance has pointed out.

Not only would I want a variety of adults in the centre, I would also want women helpers and colleagues. I assume that, at any rate, in the first stages these centres will be provided for boys, in which case the help of women could again prove critical in certain cases. Husbands and wives moreover often seem to exert an influence in combination which is greater than the sum of their two separate personalities. I suspect that many of the young people who will attend will be worried about intersexual relations and have anxieties about marriage and about their futures generally and that they can gain in advice and in assurance from having the chance to talk informally about such matters with married men and women. Women helpers furthermore can have a mothering effect on some of the younger children which is often lacking in their lives and is wholly desirable. But children, whether delinquent or otherwise, not only need sound, disinterested and affectionate adults with whom to form relationships, they also need what we may call 'ego-building' experiences. They need to achieve something, however humble in aspiration, which constitutes their own more or less unaided effort. It could be the completion of a difficult woodwork model for a boy of below average manual skill; the finishing of a painting; the construction of a canoe; the passing of an examination at night-school; the winning of a life saving medal, a road proficiency certificate or one of the Duke of Edinburgh awards. What matters is not so much the task as the experience of achievement, the fulfilment of personal effort and sustained endeavour. For some of the tougher boys there is also the need to experience fear and overcome

danger in some more hazardous enterprise of seamanship, mountaineering, rock-climbing, pot-holing or cross-country marches.

I assume that part of the programme, as in any 'good' youth club, will involve sending boys out to socially useful work in the area. I might add that I am not in favour of offenders being ordered by the court to undertake voluntary social work as is suggested by a report of the advisory council on the penal system (1970) in connection with the operation of attendance centres.

It would be the task of the staff to find out where a boy's interests lie or to attempt to kindle some if they do not already exist and to nurture and sustain them by every available skill and tutorial resource. In our enthusiasm for the great out-doors let us not forget that there are some more conventional pursuits in the gymnasium and sports field, in swimming, athletics, football and boxing to name just a few, which also offer youngsters legitimate outlets for their energies and provide the basis of sound self-discipline. The new intermediate treatment centre must cover all these activities and many more besides, if it is to make its programme widely appealing and remedial.

Some people may be saying at this point that what I am attempting to describe is rather like an ideal boys' club with a strong family atmosphere. Were I to be in charge of such a venture that is precisely what I would be aiming at. I want the psychological climate to be entirely non-punitive. In this way it would not resemble many of our existing institutions for dealing with young delinquents, although there must certainly be some approved schools which succeed in developing a similar atmosphere and ethos.

But to be non-punitive is not to be weak or sentimental. Disciplinary standards will be high but I hope collaborative, shared and agreed rather than imposed, although in the early stages strong disciplinary interventions may be necessary and should not be shirked. But in the course of time the discipline should as far as possible resemble the natural discipline relevant to specific jobs and tasks. For example, adventure courses, outward-bound type weekends, camping and expeditions across difficult or dangerous country, rock climbing and mountaineering have their appropriate and clearly understood regulations which are rational and vital to the task. But it would be wildly utopian to imagine that all the boys sent to the centre by the juvenile courts would come gladly or be in the right frame of mind to participate in the programme. There would have to be sanctions underpinning the work of the centre which would inevitably be different from those which operate for attendance centres. Those who truculently rebel or who persist in attempts to sabotage the programme would have to be excluded and dealt with by other means (e.g., by being returned to court

for further consideration of their needs). For the rest, we would hope that growing interest in the activities and deepening relationships with the staff would make punishment for minor breaches of rules, other than perhaps simple fines, unnecessary. But this is clearly one of the most critical areas of the proposed institution's life and one which will have to be watched very closely and adjusted in relation to experience.

Much will depend on the quality of the staff and again, if I may draw on my own experience, the youngsters will almost certainly make a positive response to adults whom they can admire. The man who can do the difficult job, who has obvious skill, the man of courage and the man of sympathy seldom have real disciplinary problems even with tough city boys.

C. A. Joyce, former headmaster of the Cotswold approved school, advocates what seems to me to be the right attitude to this problem of discipline which applies in every educational setting. If I may quote his words on punishment, but suggest at the same time that we widen the concept of punishment to include discipline in general, I think my meaning will be clear:

Punishment is a necessity, I believe, and I wish people wouldn't be stupid and imagine that punishment engenders resentment or is unkind. Punishment and affection are not mutually exclusive terms, but the punishment must be understandable. I made it clear that punishment isn't something imposed by irascible adults: it is something that you bring upon yourself. Damage had to be paid for; stealing was punished by restitution . . . If you ran away for two days you deducted two days off your leave. It was made clear that rules are applied to us all. If it's right for you it must be right for me. You don't walk across the lawns, neither do I (Joyce, 1966, p. 15).

While we are on the topic of staff and helpers I would like to suggest that a number of voluntary members should be recruited to the centre of roughly the same age as or slightly older than the youths attending. They would, of course, be subject to some screening process though there is no reason why some of them should not at some time in the past have been in minor trouble with the police and even have court records. What I have in mind are young people from local colleges or nearby universities interested in social work and welfare, the kind of young man or woman who is a member of IVS or young volunteer movements like Alec Dickson's. One would hope that police cadets, older scouts, senior youth club members and stable young apprentices might also be interested to join the centre and share in its many activities when possible. The idea would not be that they would come along as helpers or officers or in any patronising manner

but simply to take part, to add zest and enthusiasm, skill and variety to the centre's programme. In this way they could exert considerable influence on the tone and ethos of the centre and they might also, in addition to enjoying themselves, feel they had made a contribution to social welfare. I am sure that in most cities there is a large and still untapped reservoir of young people willing and competent to participate in creative social ventures and I cannot see why intermediate treatment, at least as I have tried to envisage it, should not appeal to such young people and students.

One of the happy facts of life today is that, as far as thinking youth is concerned, there is much less opprobrium and much more sympathy for the underdogs and social misfits than ever in the past. More and more young people are coming to see that it is the defects of the social order itself, and the failure of the community to provide a healthy and satisfactory environment and an adequate educational service and job opportunity structure, that are the main causes of much delinquency and apparently motiveless vandalism. Such an understanding could well make many of them invaluable folk to have around in the amalgam of tough youth club and attendance centre which I envisage will emerge. Their example in many ways would permeate the centre, their enthusiasm and vigour ensure a high level of morale if only they could be recruited in sufficient numbers. At least this seems to me to be an idea worth pursuing. Those responsible for intermediate treatment must be prepared to take risks and not be too afraid of making mistakes if it is ever likely to prove effective in reducing juvenile crime.

What are we to expect in the way of results from the sort of treatment I have been describing? Many minor and early offenders would no doubt be helped and checked and diverted from further delinquencies. Some neglected children will find they are cared for, some lonely unwanted children will find sustained and disinterested affection. Even those who are evidencing symptoms of psychological disturbance may be helped over a period of particular stress and strain. Fairly substantial inroads should be made into the large mass of 'benign' offenders which, at any rate, would reduce the crime figures. More positively, it would promote a more healthy and responsible attitude to life on the part of what are basically underprivileged, culturally deprived and indisciplined youngsters.

It is extraordinary what can be accomplished with even the most unlikely human material by men determined to do the job and who will not entertain the idea of failure. One recalls the special training centres set up by the Army during the period of national service which helped many an illiterate young soldier to read and write well enough to be able to keep in touch with his home and girl-friend. The backward and retarded

respond surprisingly well to consistent tutorial assistance and develop motivation and exhibit positive attitudes which, often for the first time in their lives, can lead them to achieve much needed personal success.

Of course, the new kind of institution I favour must be sustained over a fair period of time. The authorities envisage, for intermediate treatment, no more than ninety days over a two-year period, which hardly seems to give sufficient time to do all that needs to be done. It is certainly much less than I would consider appropriate. I would think anything less than six months compulsory followed by an indefinite voluntary attendance at one of the centres would be unlikely to make much of an impression. Attendance would, to be really worth while, be for at least two evenings per week with certain designated weekends when special events would be scheduled, outdoor activities in particular. An evening session should cover at least two hours, preferably more, so that there is enough time for full advantage to be taken of the programme and for the staff and associated workers to get to know the attenders. It could very well be incorporated with probation or with fit person orders.

The suggestion that youngsters after completion of the stipulated time should attend the centre on a voluntary basis may at first sight seem optimistic and some might consider it undesirable. But a moment's reflection will dispel most doubts. If good relationships have been established with the staff, the boys* are hardly likely to want to disassociate themselves entirely after their obligatory period has ended. If the programme is indeed rich and interesting this also will provide a continuing attraction. In fact, the more the centre resembles the ideal youth club the more the attenders will value their association and wish to turn it into membership. Finally, the continuing presence of youths whose attendance was formerly obligatory and who are positively involved in the work and have accepted the ethos of the centre will have a beneficial effect on all newcomers. To achieve this, it will be clear, all suggestion of punishment or allied social stigma must be minimised. If ex-youth leaders, former teachers and community workers are recruited to man the centres much of the danger of adverse reputation might be avoided. Moreover, the presence of voluntary helpers as in orthodox youth clubs and of young volunteers as associate members would also help to present a reassuring image. In the last analysis, of course, they will be judged by their results. As the groups flourish and are seen in the wider community to be operating constructively in useful social projects, on well-conducted, disciplined enterprises, by their demeanour on the sports field, at the local swimming gala and in

* No doubt similar centres for female offenders will also be set up at a later date than those catering for boys, particularly if the numbers of girl offenders continue to grow disproportionately.

various similar situations their true worth will be clear for all to see and their presence in the area will be welcomed as an asset rather than shunned as a badge of disgrace.

I feel sure that Charles Russell would have approved in principle of the concept of intermediate treatment and I rather fancy that, given his experience of club work in Manchester, he might also have approved of many of my own suggestions.

Reading through Russell's books in preparation for this lecture, I have time and again been astonished by the sympathy of his outlook, the modernity — if I may be allowed to use such a word — of his viewpoint, the depth of his human and social understanding. He saw very clearly that the community has a responsibility to help children from adverse home backgrounds. 'Neglect by parents', he said, 'is most culpable, but it is often due to ignorance, poverty, misfortune, circumstances in general for which some excuse may be found in the hardness of their lot.' But, 'for neglect by the state there is no excuse'.

The provision of what may seem to some to be over-luxurious youth club facilities for young delinquents fits well with the modern concept of positive discrimination as expounded in the Plowden Committee Report which established the notion of educational priority areas in underprivileged localities. But even so there will be many objectors. May I, therefore, recall the dictum of Thomas and Znaniecki, that it is no longer so much a matter of protecting society against its antisocial members as of conferring on them their natural right to be made socially useful.

At the same time it must be said that contemporary society holds out much reduced prospects of social readjustment for youngsters who have been in trouble. Job opportunities for disadvantaged and inadequately trained schoolleavers almost every day grow less. It is little use helping young delinquents to acquire a new self-image if in the end economically and in other ways society says very firmly to them that they are not really wanted!*

Furthermore, as many of us who have worked with delinquents know, far too much fuss is made about their offences. Many of these are very petty and comparatively trivial and are best thought of as distress signals sent up for help or as natural reactions to abnormally frustrating circumstances. In retraining the young delinquents we are redressing adverse home circumstances. We are seeking to neutralise the criminalistic suggestions of delinquency areas. We are trying to put back those positive values and creative interests that they have, usually through no fault of their

* The Youth Employment Service might profitably become associated with the centre's work and help unemployed attenders, where possible, to find suitable and rewarding jobs.

own, been denied. To attempt this may be costly. It may be only partially successful but not to attempt it would be wholly out of tune with the concept of the caring community which, in these days of the post-Welfare State, is surely our new social purpose and objective. In no field more conspicuously than in the treatment of offenders and deviants is our genuine commitment or our organised compassion likely to be more severely tested.

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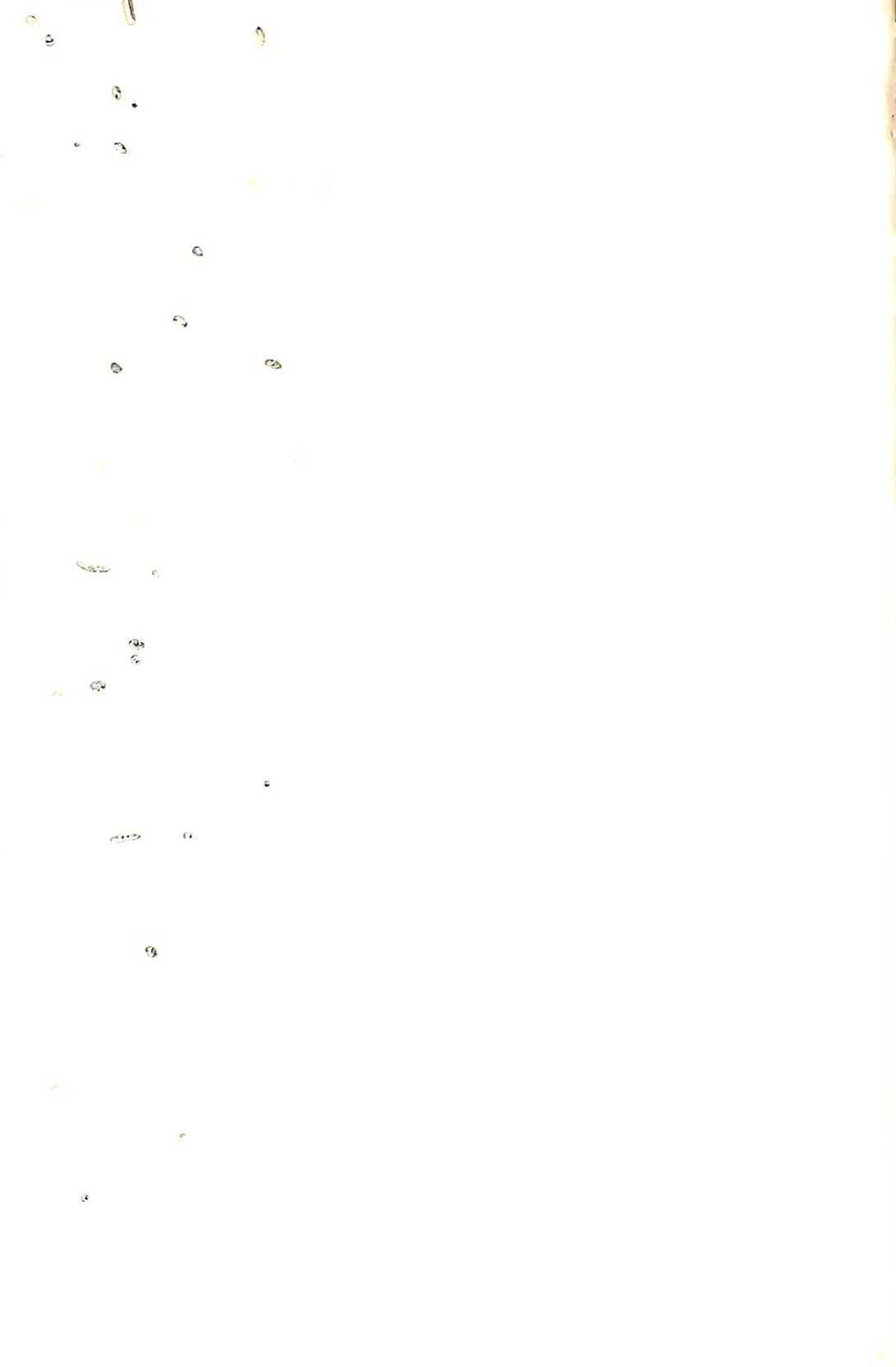
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**The social
treatment of
young offenders**

The author

136.763
MAY

This reader complements John Barron Mays' last reader: *Juvenile Delinquency, The Family and the Social Group*. It consists of a series of selected papers, some actually commissioned for this book, on all aspects of the present methods for treating young delinquents. There are chapters on approved schools, borstals, probation, detention and attendance centres, together with accounts of special projects designed to socialise young offenders, such as teen cafes and adventure camps. Sections are devoted to a discussion of the more recent methods of the so-called Intermediate Treatment which are as yet hardly tested in this country.

The book is comprehensive, analytical and at times critical of both past and present policies for dealing with delinquent children.

John Barron Mays is Eleanor Rathbone Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Liverpool. He is an acknowledged specialist in the criminological field, and has had many years practical experience in dealing with young offenders and with children known to be at risk. Author of several social science books, he is joint General Editor of the successful Longman series *Aspects of Modern Sociology* for which he has written the volume on Crime and its Treatment (1970).

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ISBN: 0 582 48086 8

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